

A COMPENDI-
ous or brieſe examina-
tion of certayne ordinary com-
plaints of diuers of our country men
in theſe our dayes: which although
they are in ſome parte vniuſe & fr-
uolous, yet are they all by way of dia-
logues throughe debated &
diſcuſſed

By W. S.
Gentleman.

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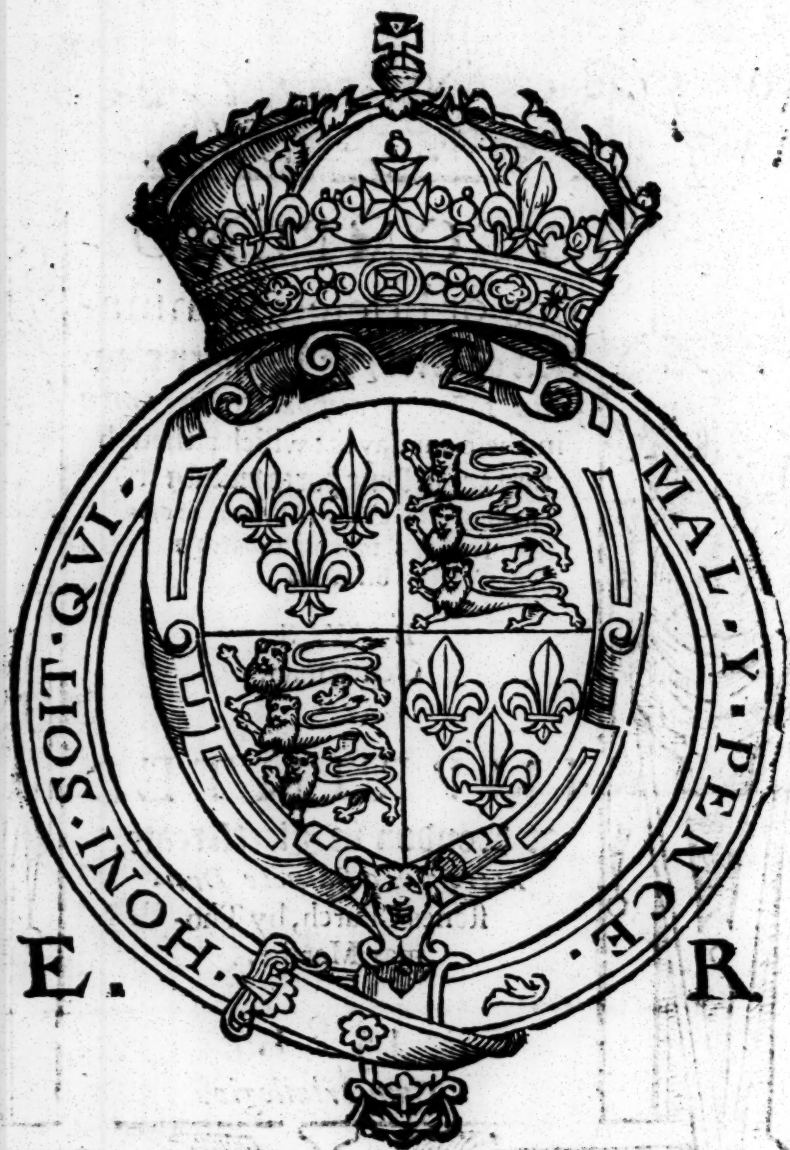
neere vnto Saincte Dun-

ſtons Church, by Tho-
mas Maſhfe.

1581.

Cum Priuilegio.





G. STEEVENS

TO THE MOST VER-
 tuous and learned Lady, my most
 Deare and Soueraigne Princesse ELI-
 ZABETH, by the Grace of GOD,
 Queene of England, Fraunce, and
 Ireland, Defendresse of the
 Fayth, &c.



Here as there was neuer anye
 thinge hearde of in any age past
 hetherunto, so perfectly wrought
 and framed, eyther by Arte or
 Nature, but that it hath at some
 time, for some forged and surmi-
 sed matter, sustayned the repre-
 hension of some enuius persons
 or other: I doe not much mieuayle most mighty Pryn-
 cesse, that in this your so noble & famous a gouernmēt,
 (the glory whereof is now longe sithence scattered and
 spread ouer the whole face of the Earth,) there are not-
 withstanding certayne euill disposed people, so blinded
 with malice, and subdued to their owne parciall con-
 ceiptes: that as yet they can neyther spare indifferent
 iudgements to conceyue, or reuerent tōgues to reporte
 a known truth, touching the perfection of the same. But
 for these men, as they are (no doubt) sufficiently refuted
 by the testimonies of their owne consciences: so are they
 most certaynly condemned by the common consent of
 all such, as are wise or indifferent. And although this be
 of it selfe so cleare and manyfest that it cannot be deni-
 ed, yet could not I forbear (most renowned soueraigne)
 being as it were inforced, by your Maesties late & sin-
 gular clemency, in pardoning certayne my vnduetifull
 misdemeanour, but seeke to acknowledge your gracious
 goodnesse and bounty towards me, by exhibiting vnto
 you this small and simple present: wherein as I haue in-

★★

deuon.

The Epistle.

deuoured in fewe wordes to aunswere certayne quarrels and obiections, dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the talke of sundry men, so doe I most humbly craie your Graces fauourable acceptation thereof: protestinge also with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the discourse of these matters heere disputed, to define ought, which may in any wise sounde preiudiciall to any publicke authority, but only to alleadge such probability as I coulde, to stop the mouthes of certayne euill affected persons, which of their curiosity require farther satisfaction in these matters, then can well stand with good modesty. Wherefore as vpon this zeale & good meaning towards your estate, I was earnestly moued to vndertake this enterpryse, and in the handling thereof rather content to shewe my selfe vnkilfull to others, the vnthakfull to you: so presuminge of your auncient accustomed clemency, I was so bould to comit the same to your gracious protection, fully perswading and assuring my self, that it would generally obtayne the better credit & entertainment among others, if your Maiesties name were prefixed, as it were a most rich Iewell and rare Ornamēt to beautifie and commend the same. God preserue your Maiesty with infinit increase of all his blessings bestowed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vpon the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) euē far beyond the ordinary course of Nature: that as you haue already sufficiētly raygned for your owne honour and glory to last withall posterities: so you may cōtinew and remayne with vs many more yeares, euen to the full contentation (if it may so be) of vs your louing subiects, and to the perfect establishing of this flourishing peace & tranquillity in your cōmon weale for euer.

YOUR MAIESTIES

most faythfull and
louing Subiect

W. S.

A Table of thinges

*most notable contained
in this Booke.*



That no man is a straſger to the cōmon vveale
that he is in. 1.a

That of many heads is gathered a perfect cō-
ſayle. 1.b

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arte. 1.b

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The table of
the third di-
alogue.

FINIS.

**A Brieue conceipte touching
THE COMMON WEALE
OF THIS REALME
OF ENGLAND.**



CONSIDERING THE
diuerse and sondry complaints of our
countriemen in these our daies, tou-
ching the great alteration of this co-
mon weale, within the compasse of
these fewer yerres lately past: I thought
good at this time to set downe such
probable discourse for the occasion

hereof, as I haue hearde oftentimes uttered by men of
sounde learning and deepe iudgement. And albeit I am
not one to whom the consideration and reformation of the
same doth especially belong: yet knowing my selfe to bee a
Member of the same Commonweale, and to further it by
all the wayes that possibly I may: I cannot reckon and
account my selfe a meere strainger to this matter, no more
than a man that were in a Shippe, which being in daun-
ger of wracke might say, that, because he is not (percase)
the maister or Pilot of the same, the danger thereof doth
pertayne nothing at all to him. Therefore hauinge now
suffcient leasure from other businesse, mee thought, I
coulde not apply my study to a better end then to publish
& make relation of such matters as I haue heard throu-
ghly disputed herein.

First, what thinges men are most grieued with, than,
what should be the occasion of the same: And that knowne
how such greues may bee taken away, and the state of the
Common weale reformed agayne. And albeit yee might
well say, that there be men of greater wittes then I that

A.

haue

No man is a
straunger to
the commo-
weale he is
in.

A brieſe Conceipte

haue that matter in charge, yet Fooles (as the Proverbe is) ſometimes ſpeake to the purpoſe: and as many heads, ſo many wittes, and therefore Princes, though they bee neuer ſo wiſe themſelues, (as our moſt excellent Prince is) yet the wiſer that they be, the more counſellers they wil haue. (as our noble and gracious Queene doth daily make choiſe of more) for that, that one cannot perceiue, another doth diſcouer: the giſtes of wits be ſo diuerſe, that ſome excelles in Memory, ſome in Inuention, ſome in Iudgement, ſome at firſt ſight ready, & ſome after long conſideration: though each of theſe by them ſelues do not leuerally make perfit the matter, yet when euery mā bypings in his gyfte, a meane witted man may of all theſe (the beſt of euery mans deuile being gathered together) make as it were a pleaſaunt and perfect Garlonde to adorne and Decke hys head with all. Therefore I would not onely haue learned men, whoſe Iudgements I would wiſhe to be chiefly eſteemed herein, but alſo Marchaunt men, Huſbandmen, & Artiſcers, which in their callinges are taken wiſe, freely ſuffered, yea, and prouoked to tell their Aduyſes in this matter. For ſome poyntes in their feates, they may diſcloſe, that the wiſeſt in a Realme cannot vnfoulde againe. And it is a maxime, or a thing receyued as an inſaylable verity among all men, that euery man is to be credited in that Arte that he is moſt exercyſed in. For did not Apelles that excellent Painter conſider, & whan he layde forth his ſpene Image of Venus to be ſeene of euery man & paſſ by, to the intent he hearing euery mans iudgement in his owne Arte might alwayes amend that was a myſte in his worke, whoſe Cenſures he allowed ſo longe as they kept them within their owne Faculties, and tooke not vppon them to meddle wth an other mans Arte: ſo percaſe I may be aunſwered as he was, yet I reſule not that, if I paſſe my cō

Of many
heades is gathered a perfect counſell.

That euery
man is to be
credited in
his owne
Arte.

my compasse: but for as much as most of this matter containeth Policy, or good gouernment of a commonweale, being a Member of Philosophy morale, wherein I haue somewhat studied, I shall bee so bolde with my countrey-men: who I doubt not will construe every thinge to the best, as to better my pooze and simple conceipt herein, which I haue gathered out of the talke of diuerse and sundry notable men that I haue heard reason on this matter: and though I should herein percase moue some thinges that were openlye not to bee touched, as in such cases of discreption is requisite, yet hauinge respect to what ends they bee spoken, I trust they can offend no man, for harde were it to heale a soare that a man woulde not haue opened to his Physitian, nor yet a surfet that a man woulde not declare the occasion thereof. Therefore now to goe to the matter, vpon boldnesse of your good acceptation, that kinde of reasoning seemeth to mee best for vouldinge out of the truth, which is bled by waye of Dialogues, or colloquyes, where reasons be made too and froe, as well for the matter intended as against it: I thought best to take that way in the discourse of this matter, which is, first in recounting the common and vniuersall grieues y men complayne on now a dayes, secondly in voulding out the verie causes and occasions of them, thirdly, and the whole finally in deuising of remedies for al the same. Therefore I will declare vnto you what communication a Knight had betwene him & certayne other persons of late about this matter, which because it happened betwene such persons, as were Members of euery state y finde themselves grieved now a dayes, I thoughte it not meete to bee forgotten to let you vnderstand that y persons were these. A knight as I sayde first, a Marchaunt man, a Doctor, a Husband man, and Craftes man. And first, the Knight rehearsed y communication in this manner ensuing.

Why the
Booke is
made by
way of Dia-
logue.
The sume of
the whole
Booke.

A briefe Conceipte

THE FIRST DI- ALOGVE.

Knight.



After I and my Fellowes the Iustices of peace of this Comminalty had the other day declared the Quenes highnes commission touching diuers matters, & geuen the charge to th' enquest: I being both weary of the heate of the people & nople of the same, thought to steale to a friendes house of myne in the towne which selles Wyne, to the intent to eate a morsell of meate, for I was then fasting, taking with me an honest hul bandina, whom for his honesty and good discretion I loued very wel: whether as we were comne & had but skant sit downe in a close Parloure, there comes me in a Marchaunte man of that city, a man of estimation and substaunce, and requires the sayd Hul bandman to goe and dyne with him, nay (quoth I) he will not I trust now for sake my company, though he should fare better with you.

Marchaunt.

Chan (quoth the marchaunt man) I will send home for a patty of Venison that I haue there & for a friend of mine and a neighbor that I had bid to dinner, and we shalbe so bolde as to make merry withall heere in your company, & as for my guest hee is no straunger vnto you neyther. And therefore both he of youres, & you of his company, I trust wilbe the gladder.

Knight.

Who is it.

Marchaunt.

Doctor Pandotheus.

Knight.

As he is, on my fayth he shalbe heartely welcome, for of him we shal haue some good communication and wise, for he is noted a learned and a wise man. And immediately the Marchaunt sendes for him, and he comes vnto vs, & byngeth

geth wyth him an honest man a Capper of the same towne who came to speake with the sayd Marchaunt, than after salutations had (as yee knowe the maner is) betweene me and maister Doctor, and renewing of olde acquayntaunce which had bene long before betweene vs, we sat all downe, and when we had eat e somewhat to satisfie the sharpnesse of our stomackes.

On my sayth (quoth the Doctor) to me, yee make much Doctor.
a doe, you that bee Iustices of the peace of euery Countrey, in sitting vpon Commissions almost werkely, and in causing pooze men to appeare before you and leauing theyr husbandry vnlookte to at home.

Surely it is so. Yet the prince must be serued and h^e cō- Knight.
montweale, for God and h^e prince haue not sent vs the pooze lyuinges that we haue, but to doe seruice therfore abrode amonges our Neighbourours.

It is well if yee take it so, for nature hath grafted that Doctor.
perswasion in you and all other that folloies the cleare light of Nature. As learned men haue remēbred, saying, Plato.
we be not borne onely to our selues, but partely to the ble Cicero.

of our Countrey, of our Parentes, of our Kinsfolkes, and partly of our Friendes and Neighbourours, and therefore That men are
all good vertues are grafted in vs naturally, whose effects not borne to
be to doe good to other, wherein we shewe forth the Image themselves
of God in Man, whose property is euer to doe good to o- onely.
ther, and to distribute his goodnesse abrode lyke no My-
garde, nor enuyous of any other creatures. As they rese-
ble nothing of that godly Image, so they study no commō
brility of other, but onely the conseruation of them selues
and propagation of their owne kynde. Wherefore, if we
looke to be reckned most vnlyke them being most vyle, and
lykest to God being most excellent, let vs study to doe good
to other, not preferring the ease of this Carcasse which is
like the brute beastes, but rather the vertues of h^e minde
wherein we be lyke God him selfe.

A brieue Conceipte

Husband.

Then (sayd þe Husbandman) for all your paynes (meaning by me) & all oures also, I would yee had neuer worse Commissions in hande than this is. So we had lost more dayes workes at our Husbandry than this.

Knight.

Why so?

Husband.

Complaynt of
Inclosures by
Husbandmen.

Mary for these Inclosures doe vndoe vs all, for they make vs to pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & causes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to Tyllage, all is taken by for Pasture: for Pasture eyther for Sheepe, or for Grauing of Cattell, in so much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes within lesse compasse than sixt Oxles about mee, layde downe within this seuē yeaeres: and where threescore persons or byward had their liuings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the least cause of former vyprozes: for by these Inclosures many doe lacke lyuings and be ydle, & therefore for very necessity they are desirous of a chaunge being in hope to come thereby to somewhat, and well assured that howe so euer it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before: more ouer all things are so deere that by their day wages they are not able to lyue.

Tapper.

Complaynt of
dearth of vit-
tayle by Arti-
ficers.

I haue well þe experience thereof, for I am faine to geue my Iourneimen two pence in a day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they say they cannot sufficiently liue thereon. And I know for truth, that the best husbände of them can saue but litle at the yeaeres ende, and by reason of such dearth as yee speake of we that are Artificers, are able to keepe but fewe or no Apprentizes like as wee were wont to doe, and therefore Cities which were heretofore well inhabited and wealthy, (as yee know euery one of you) are now for lacke of occupiers fallen to great pouerty and desolation.

Marchaunt.

So be the most parte of all þe townes of England, London one.

Don onely except, and not only the good townes are sore decayed in their Howles, Malles, Streates, and other buildings, but also the countrey in their high wayes & Byddges, for such pouerty raygneth euery where, that few men haue so much to spare as they may geue any thing to þe reparation of such wayes, byddges, and other common easements, and albeit there be many things layde downe now which befoze time were occasions of much expences, as Maygames, Wakes, Reuels, wages at shootinge, wrestling, running, and throwing the stone, or barre, & besides that, Pardons, Wylgrimages, Offerings, and many such other thinges, yet I perceyue we bee neuer the wealthyer, but rather poozer: whereof it is long I cannot well tell, for ther is such a general dearth of al things as befoze .xx. or .xxx. yeaues hath not bene the like, not onely of things growing within this Realme, but also of all other Marchaundize that we buy from beyond the Sea, as Sylkes, Wynes, Dyles, Woode, Wadder, Iron, Steele, Ware, Flaxe, Linnencloth, Fustians, Worsteddes, Couerlets, Carpets, and all Hearles, & Tapestry. Spices of all sort and al Haberdasher ware, as Paper both white & browne, Glasses aswell drinckinge, and looking as for glasinge of Windowses, Pinnes, Needles, Kniues, Daggers, Hats, Cappes, Broches, Buttons, and Laces. I wot well all these doe cost nowe moze by the thyrde parte than they did but fewe yeaues agoe: than all kinde of Wittayle are as deere or deerer agayne, & no cause of Gods part thereof as farre as I can perceaue, for I neuer sawe more plenty of Corne, grasse, and Cattell of all sorte than wee haue at this present, & haue had (as yee know) all these twenty yeaues passed continually, thanked bee our Lorde God: if these Inclosures were cause thereof, or any other thinge els, it were pity but they might be remooued.

Complaynt of
townes by
Marchauntme
& of all other
comon calamities.

Many superfluous charges
layde downe
and yet neuer
the more plenty.

Dearth of out
vuarde Marchaundize.

Dearth of all
kinde of vittayle.

Synce yee haue plenty of all thinges, of Corne, & Cat- Knight.
tell, as

A brieft Conceipte

That Inclo-
sures be not the
cause of this
dearth.

That Gentle-
men feeble most
griefe by this
dearth.

Husband.

The complaint
of craftes men
against Gentle
men for taking
of Farmes.

tell, (as yee say) the it should not seeme this dearth should be longe of these Inclosures, for it is not for scarcenesse of Corne y^e yee haue this dearth (for thanked be God) Corne is good cheape, and so hath bene these many yeares past continually. Than it cannot bee the occasion of the dearth of Cattell, for Inclosure is the thing that nourisheth most of any other: yet I confesse there is a wonderfull dearth of all things, and that doe I, and all men of my sorte feeble most griefe in, which haue no way to sell, or occupation to lyue by, but onely our landes. For you all thre (I meane) you my neyghbour the husbandman, you maister Mercer, and you goodman Capper, wth other Artificers may saue your selues meetely well. Forasmuch as all thinges are deerer then they were, so much doe you aryse in the pryce of your wares and occupations that yee sell agayne. But we haue nothing to sell whereby we might aduance y^e pryce thereof, to counterualue those thinges that we must buy agayne. Yes, yee rayse the pryce of your Landes, and yee take Fermes also and pastures to your hāds, (which was wont to bee poore mens lyuings such as I am) and haue geuen ouer to liue onely vpon your Landes.

On my soule yee say truth (quoth the Marchaunte) and the Capper also sayd no lesse, adding thereto that it was neuer merry with poore Craftes men, since Gentlemen became Grasiers, for they cannot now a dayes (sayd he) finde they^r Wrentizes and seruantes meate and dryncke, but it cost them almost double as much as did before time, where fore, where many of myne occupation and other like, heretofore haue dyed ryche men, and bene able to leaue honestly behynde them for they^r Wyfe and Children, and besides y^e leaue some notable bequestes for some good deede, as to y^e making of Byddges, & repaying of highwayes, all which thinges goe to wacke now euery where. Also some were wont to buy Land eyther for to helpe the poore beginners
of Dc.

of th' occupations: yea, some time they had such superfluity
as they could ouer such bequestes leaue a nother portion
to finde a pyssle, or to founde a Chauntry in some parish Church,
and now we are skant able to liue without debt, ^{The craftes-}
or to keepe few seruants or no, except it be one Prentize ^{mans cōplaynt}
or two. ^{that he cannot}
And therefore the Iourney men what of our occupa- ^{let me a worke}
tions, and what of Clothyers, and all other occupati- ^{for the Dearth}
ons being forced to be without worke, are þ most parte of ^{of victayle.}
these rude people that maketh these vyages abroad, to the
great disquiet not onely of the Queenes highnes but al-
so of hir people. And neede as yee knowe hath no boot. ^{Marchaūt.}

It is true, yee knowe likewise what other notable acts
men of myne occupation haue done in this City. Whereof
this yee knowe the hospitall at the towres end; where in
the freemen decayed are releaued, how it was founded not
longe agoe by one of our occupation, supposing thereby þ
the city should be much releaued, which then was in some
decay, and yet it betapeth still euery day more and more
whereof it should be longe, I cannot well tell.

As, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not in
our cause, so it is as true that I and my loye, I meane all
Gentlemen haue as great yea and farre greater cause to
complayne then any of you haue, (for as I sayd) now that
the pryces of thinges are so rylen by our handes you may
better vnderstande your degree then we, for you may and do
rayse the pryce of your wares, as the pryces of vittayles, &
other your necessities doe ryl, and so cannot we so much,
for though it bee true that of such landes as come to our
handes, eyther by purchase, or by determination and end-
ing of such termes of yeares, or other Estates, that I or
myne ancestors had graunted the in time past. I doe either
receyue a better fine than of olde was vled, or enhaunce the
rent thereof, being forced thereto for þ charge of my hous-
holde that is so encreased ouer that it was, yet in all my
lyfe

Knight.

The Gentle-
mans cōplaynt
hovv he can-
not keepe lyke
countenance
as he vvas
v wont to doe.

A briefe Conceipte

Why Gentle-
men doe geue
ouer their
houſholdes.

Myſe tyme I looke not that the thyrde parte of my Land ſhall come to my diſpoſition, that I may enhaunce the rent of ſame, but it ſhalbe in mens holding either by leaſes or by cōpy graunted before my tyme, and ſtill continuing, and yet lyke to continue in the ſame ſtate for the moſt part during my lyfe, and percaſe my ſonnes: ſo as we cannot rayſe all our wares as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reaſon we did, and by reaſon that we cannot, ſo many of vs (as yee know) that haue departed out of ſ this cōutrey of late, haue bene dyuen to geue ouer our houſholdes, and to kepe

either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court vncalled, with a man and a Lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a ſcore of cleane men in his houſe, & xx. or xxiii. other perſons beſides euery day in the weeke, and ſuch of vs as doe abyde in the cōutrey ſtill, cannot in two hundredeth a yere, kepe that houſe that we might haue done with CC. markes but xvi. yeres paſt. And therefore we are forced either to miniſhe the third part of our houſholdes, or to raiſe the third part of our reuenues, and for that we cannot ſo muſh of our owne landes that is already in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced either to keepe peeces of our owne Landes when they fall in our owne poſſeſſion, or to purchaſe ſome Farne of other mens landes, and to ſtope it with ſheepe or ſome other cattell to help to make vp the decay of our reuenues, and to maintayne our olde eſtate withall, and yet all is little ynough.

Huſband.

Complaint a-
gainſt ſheepe.

Yea, thoſe ſheepe is the cauſe of all theſe miſchieues, for they haue dyuen huſbandry out of the cōutrey, by ſ which was increaſed before all kinde of victailles, & now all together ſheepe, ſheepe, ſheepe. It was farre better when there were not only ſheepe ynough, but alſo Oxen, Kine, ſwyne, Pig, Goole & Capon, Egges, Butter & Cheeſe: yea, and breade Corne, and Walte corne ynough beſides, reared all together vpon the ſame lande.

Then the Doctoz ſ had leaned on his Elbowe all thys whyl

while musing, sat by and sayd, I perceiue by you all three, that there is none of you but haue iust cause to complaine.

No by my troth except it be you, men of þ church, which trauaile nothing for your lyvinge and yet haue ynough.

Þee say troth in deede, we haue least cause to complaine: yet yee know well, we be not so plētious as we haue bene, the first fruits & tenthes are deducted of our liuings, yet of the rest we might liue wel ynough, if we might haue quietnes of minde & conscience withall. And albeit we labour not much with our bodies (as yee say) yet yee know we labour to our mindes, more to þ weaking of þ lame, then by any other bodily exercise we should do, as yee may wel perceiue by our cōplexions, how wan our colour is, how faint and sickly be our boddies, & all for lacke of bodily exercise.

Mary I woulde if I were of þ Queenes counsell, prouide for you well a fine, so as you should neede take no displeasure for lacke of exercise, I woulde set you to the Plough and Carte, for the deuill a whit of good yee doe with your studies, but let me together by the Eares, some with this opinion & some with that, some holding this way, & some another, and þ so stiffly as though the troth must be as they say that haue þ vpper hand in cōtencion, & this contencion is not also þ least cause of former vppores of þ people, some holding of þ one learning & some of þ other. In my minde it made no matter though we had no learned men at all.

God for his neighbour that it should be so: how should the Prynce haue counsaillors then: how should we haue christian religion taught vs: how should we know þ estates of oþer realmes & haue cōference to them of al cōuntries, except it were through learning, & by þ benefit of Letters.

Care not therefore goodmā capper, yee shall haue few ynough of learned men thin a while if this world hold on. I meane not but I would haue men to learne to wyte & reade, yea & to learne þ lāguages vled in cōuntries about vs þ we might wyte our minds to the & they to vs, yea and þ wee

Doctor.

Capper.

Doctor.

The Doctors
complaynt for
men of his
calling.

Capper.

Complaynt a-
gainst learned
men.

Knighe.

Doctor.

Capper.

A brife Conceipte

wee might reade þ holy Scriptures in our mocher tongue,
& as for your preaching (except yee agree better) it made
no matter howe little wee had of it, for of dyuersity there-
of cometh these diuersities of opinions,

Doctor.

Then yee care for no other sciences at all, but the know-
ledge of tongues, and to wyte & reade, and so it appeares
well that yee be not alone of that mynde, for nowe a dayes
when men sendes their sonnes to þ Uniuersties they suf-
fer the no longer to tary there, the they may haue a litle of
the latin tongue, & then they take them away & bestow the
to be Clarke with some man of Lawe or some Auditor,
and Receyuer, or to be a Secretary with some great man
or other, and so to come to a selling whereby the Uniuer-
sities be in maner emptied, and as I thinke will be occa-
sion that this Realme within a shorte space will be made
as empty of wyle and polittique men, and consequently bar-
barous, and at the last shall and subiect to other Nations
whereof wee were Lordes before.

Why learning
should be like
to decay here-
after.

Knight.

God forbid that wee that bee Gentlemen shoulde not
with our pollicy in warre prouide that we come not in sub-
iection of any other nation, and the stoutnes of Englyshe
heartes will neuer suffer that, though there were no lea-
ned men in the Realme at all.

Doctor.

Well, an Emperre or a Kingdome is not so much won,
or kept by the manhode and force of men, as it is by wylde-
dome and pollicy, which is gotten chiesly by learning: for
wee see in all kindes of gouernance for the most part, the
wyseste sorte haue the soueraynty over the rude & vylear-
ned, as in euery hollse the most expert, in euery City þ wi-
sest & most sage, and in euery common weale the most lear-
ned are most commonly placed to gouerne the rest, yea, a-
mong all nations of the worlde they that be polittique and
civile doe mayster the rest though their forces be inferiour
to the other. The Emperres of the Greekes & Romaynes

Whether a co-
monweale
may be vncell
gouerned
wvithout lear-
ning.

doe dy-

doe declare that among whom lyke as learning and wysedome was most esteemed so the Emppyes were spread widest, and longest did continue of all other. And why should you thinke it strating that you might more be vanquished than the other were before time that reckened themselves as stoute men as you be, yea dwellers of this realme, as þ Saxons last were by the Normands, and the Romaynes by the Saxons afore that, & the Byttons by þ Romaynes fyrst of all.

That the learned haue alway the foueraignty ouer the vnlearned.

There may bee wyse men ynough though they bee not learned. I haue knowne diuerse mē very wise & politique that know neuer a letter on the booke, and contrary wyse as many other learned men that haue bene very Idots in maner for any worldly pollicy that they had.

Knight.

I deny not that, but I say that if such wyse men as pee speake of had learninge to their wits, they had bene more excellent. And the other that pee call so simple had bene foolyshe if they had had no learninge at all. Exercyse in warres maketh not euery man meete to bee a Captayne, though hee trauaile in it neuer so longe, nor there is no other so apt for the warre but with experience and vse he is made more perfitt, for what maketh old men cōmonly more wise than the younger sort, but their greater experience.

Doctor.

Whether a man may be vvyse vwithout learning.

Yea, experience helpeth much the wit of men I cōfesse. But what doth learning thereto?

Knight.

If pee graunt mee that experience doth help, then I doubt not but pee will graunt mee a none that learninge doth also help much to the increafe of wysedome: let þ then be set for a sure grounde that experience doth further wysedome, & take it as it were þ father of wysedome, & meintory to be þ mother. For like as experience doth beget wysedome as a father, so memory nourisheth it as a mother, for in bayne should experience be had if þ same were not kept in remembraunce. Then if I can shew you that both expe-

Doctor.

That learning supplieth the lacke of experience, & that experience is the father of Wysedome.

A brieue Conceipte

rience and also memory are holpen and furthered by learning, then yee must needs graunt mee that learning furthereth wit and increaseth it, yee cōfesse the experience of an olde man maketh him wiser than the younge, because hee sawe mothings then the other. But an olde man seeth but only things of his owne time, & the learned man seeth not onely his owne times experience, but also that he fell in a great many of his auncestors, yea since the worlde began. Wherefore he must needs haue more experience then the vnlearned man, of what great age so euer he be, the so many cases as hee seeth in all that time to haue hapned could not so well be remembred of any man, as it is kept in memory by wytyngs, and then if the vnlearned man once forget the thinge hee sawe, hee neuer lightly remembers it againe, where as the learned man hath his booke alwayes to call him to remembrance of that hee should els forget. Therefore as he that lyueth a hundred yeare must needs haue more experience then hee that liueth fifty, so hee that seeth the chaunces of the worlde as it were in a table paynted afoze him of a thousand yeres, must needs haue greater experience then he that liueth but a hundred. Also he that trauaileth many farre Countreyes hath more experience than other of like age that neuer goeth out of his native countrey. So he that is learned seeth by Cosmographie hystories, and other learnings, the right maner & viage of euery countrey in the worlde, yea of many more then is possible for one man to trauaile through, and of these the he trauaileth much better doth hee learne there by small taryng, then the other (by longer experience) that are all together and wholly vnlearned, and consequently more wit, being in capacity and memory both els equipolent, & now I am forced to consider the maruaylous gyftes that we haue by learning, that is, how learning supplyeth vnto man

to man the greatest lack þ some Wryters haue cōplayned
of to bee in man kinde, that is þ breuity of Age, the grosse-
ness & waight of body: wherein the first, diuerse beastes
as Partes and many other, and in the last all Byrdes
do excell man, for where it is deemed man to liue aboue a
hundred yeres or there aboutes: by the benefite of lear-
ning he hath the comodity of þ life of a thousand yeres,
yea two or three thousandes, by reason hee seeth þ euents
and occurrents of all þ time by Bookes. And if he should
haue lyued him selfe by all that space then coulde he haue
had nothinge els to his comodity but that experience of
things, the rest had ben but trauayle: which experience he
hath now by letters and without any trauayle in manner
at all, and without the daungers that hee might him selfe
haue bene in, if he had liued by all that space. As to the o-
ther poynte, that wee be not so agill and light as fowles &
Byrdes of the Ayre be of, as that we might sturre from on
place to an other, wee haue the comodity through lear-
ning that we should purchase by such Peregrinations, as
well as wee should if wee might flee from one Countrey
to an other like Byrdes, and yet with lesse trauayle and
daunger. May wee not through Cosmography see the si-
tuation, temperature, and qualities of euery Countrey in
the Worlde, yea, better and with lesse trauayle then if we
might flee ouer them our selues: for that, that many other
haue learned through their great trauayles, & daungers,
they haue left to vs to be learned with ease & pleasure. Can
wee not also throughe the science of Astronomy knowe
the course of the Planettes aboue and their coniunctions
and Aspectes as certaynely as if wee were amonge them:
is surely that we may, for tell me: how came all þ learned
men here to fore to the exacte and perfite knowledge there-
of: came they not to it by cōferēce, & marking of circūstā-
ces (yes in deade) so þ out of their wrytings we learned it:
and to

The vvonder-
full gyftes that
we haue by
learning.

A brieft Conceipte

That there is
no faculty but
is made more
perfect by
learning.

Knight.

Doctor.

How Caesar
excelled all o-
ther capitaines
by reason of
his great lear-
ning ioyned
vvith his pro-
vvellie.

and to the knowledge whereof by sight onely wee coulde
neuer attayne though wee were as agile as any Byrde.
What is there els profitable or necessary for the coniuinc
of mans lyfe heere in earth, but in learning it is taughte
more perfectly and more cōpleat than any man can learne
onely by experience all dayes of his lyfe, no not so much as
your Feate in warre syr Knight, no nor your Feate good
Husbandmā, but that either of them are so exactly taught
and set forth in learninge, that neither of y^e u both though
yee be neuer so perfect in the said feates, but might learne
many poynts moe than euer yee saw before, by experience
in either of them, as you sir Knight in Vigerns, and you
good Husbandman in Columella.

I say agayne, might wee not haue that in our English
tongue, & reade the ouer though we neuer went to schole.
Yea well ynough, and yet shoulde yee be farre from the
perfect vnderstanding of the, except yee had the help of e-
ther sciences, that is to say, of Arithmatique in disposing
and ordering your men, and Geometrie in deuising of In-
gens to wynde Townes, and Fortresses, and of Byrdges
to passe ouer, in the which Caesar excelled other by reason
of the learning that hee had in those sciences, and did won-
derfull feates which an vnlearned man coulde neuer haue
done, and if yee had warre ouer the Sea, howe coulde yee
knowe towards what Coastes yee bee sea byuen without
knowledge of the latitude of the place by the Poole and
length by other starres, and you good husband for the per-
fection of the knoweledge of husbandry, had neede of some
knowledge in Astronomy, as vnder what aspect of
Planets and in the entry of what signe by the Summe & Moone
it is time to Care, to Dresse, to Sow, to reape, to Set,
to Grasse, to Cut your Wood, your Tymber: yea, to haue
some iudgment of the Weather that is lyke to come for
Tying of your Coyne, and Grasse, and houseinge of your
Cattell

Cattell: yea, of some part of **Phisick** called **Veterinaria**,
 whereby yee might knowe the diseases of yout **Beastes** &
 heale the. Then for true measuring of lande, had yee not
 neede of some knowledge in **Geometrie** to bee a perfit hus-
 band, Then for building, what **Carpenter** or **Mason** is so
 cunning or expert, but hee might learne more by readinge
 of **Vitruvius** and other mysters of **Architecture**, that is to
 say, the science of building, and to passe ouer **Philosophies** of
Logicke & **Rhetorique**, w^hereof **h** first tranapiereth about **h**
 disculsiō of the true reason from **h** false, the other about **h**
 perswasion of **h** is to be set forth to the people, as a thinge
 to them profitable and expedient, whercof a good and per-
 fit counsaylor might want neither: well, tell me what coun-
 sayle can be perfit, what common weale can be well orde-
 red vprighte, where none of the **Rulers** or **Counsaylors**
 haue studied any **Philosophy**, specially the parte that tea-
 cheth of manners (the other parte of philosophy I passe o-
 uer now, which teacheth of natures and is called **phisick**)
 what parte of the common weale is neglected by philoso-
 phy morall: doth it not teach first how every man should
 gouerne himselte honestly. Secondly how he should guide
 his family wisely and profitably. And thirdly, it sheweth
 how a **City** or a **Realme**, or any other comonweale should
 bee well ordered and gouerned, both in time of peace, and
 also warre. What commonweale can be without either a
Gouerner or **Counsaylors** that should bee expert in this
 kinde of learning, this confirmeth the point that we now
 talke of: if men expert in this Science were consulted and
 folloved, the common weale shoulde bee ordeied as fewe
 should haue cause to complaine: therefore sayd **Plato**,
 diuine **Philosopher**, that happy is that **Comonweale**
 where either **h** Prince is a **Philosopher**, or where a **Phi-**
losopher is the **Prince**.

That know-
 ledge in moral
 philosophy is
 most necessary
 for a Counsa-
 lor.

Plato.

I had weened before that there had bene no other learn- Knight.

C. ninge.

Abriefe Conceipte

ninge in the worlde; but that these mē had that be Doctors of Diuinity, or of the Lawe, or of Physicke: whereof the first had all his cūning in Preaching, the second in maters of spiritual lawe, and the third in phisicke and in loking of diseased mens water, many pee tell me now of many other sciences very necessary for euery cōmon weale, which I neuer heard of before: but either there be fewe of these Doctors that can skill of them, or els they disclose but litle of their cunning.

Doctor.

Of truch there be to fewe of them that can skill of these sciences now a dayes, & of those there be too fewe of them that are esteemed any thing the more for their knowledge therein, or called for to any counsell. And therefore other seeing these Sciences nothing esteemed or set by, they fall to those sciences that they see in some pyce, as to Diuinity, to the Lawe, and to Physicke: though they cannot bee perfect in none of these without the knowledge of the sciences aboue touched, and therefore it is ordayned by Uniuersties, that first men should bee Bachelers and Maisters of Artes ere they should come to Diuinity: and these Artes be the seuen liberall sciences, as Grammer, Logicke, Rhetoricke, Arithmatique, Geomaty, Musicke, and Astronomy, and now they skip ouer them and fall to Diuinity by and by, before they haue gotten or purchased them any indigment through the foresayd sciences, which maketh the to fall to these vniuersities of Opinions that pee speake of: for all beginners in euery science be very quicke, and ouer hasty in getting their iudgment of thinges, (as experience teacheth euery mā) & the, whē they haue once uttered their iudgments & opinions, they will see nothing but will sounde contrary to h same, but eether they will construe it to their own phantasie, or utterly deny it to be of any authority. Pythagoras, to his Scholers h came to learne his Prophane sciences commaunded silence for seuen yeares, that by all h space they should be hearers onely, and no reasoners: and

What maketh
learned men to
be so ferre.

Younge studi-
ents bee all-
vvaies ouer-
hasty in vte-
ring their iud-
gments.

Pythagoras cō-
maunded silence
to his disciples
for a time.

in this

in this Diuine science euery Boye that hath not red scripture past halfe a yere, shal be suffered not onely to reason and enquire of things (for that were tollerable) but to as- firme newe and straunge interpretations vpon the same neuer heard of before. What ende of Opinions can there bee while this is suffered. Also Plato forbade any man to come to his schoole that was ignoraunt in Geomatty, and to this high schoole of Dyuinity hee that knoweth not his Grammer, much lesse any other science shall be admitted at the first, I say not to learne, for that might be suffered, but to iudge: and there cometh in the thinge that the same Plato sayeth to bee an onely cause sufficient to ouerthrowe a whole Common weale where it is vled, that is, when they take on them the iudgment of things to whom it doth not apertayne, as youth of thinges belonginge to olde men, children ouer their fathers, seruants ouer their maisters, and priuate men ouer their Princes: what Ship can bee longe saufe from wracke where euery man will take vpon him to bee a Pylate: what house well gouerned, where euery seruant will be a maister and a teacher. I speake thus much of the commendation of learning, not onely because I heard my friend heere (the Cap- per) set litle by learninge, but also that I see many nowe a dayes of his Opinion, which care nothinge for any other knowledge, but onely that they may wyte and reade, and learne þe tongues: whom I can resemble well to those men that esteemeth more the Barke than the Tree, the Shale more then the Rynell: wherefore they seeme to take the bright Summe from þe Earth, that would take away learning from vs: for the same is no more necessary for the increase of all thinges on earth, then is learninge for the increase of Ciuility, Wisdome, and Pollicy amonge men. And as much as reasonable men doth excell all other creatures by þe gyft of Reason, so much excelleth a learned man

Plato comma-
ded that no
man ignoraunt
in Geomatty
should enter
his schoole.

What harme
may come if
they bee suffe-
red to iudge in
things to vvhich
it doth not
appertayne.

That it is not
learninge suffi-
cient to knowe
the tongues, &
to vvyte.

A brieft Conceipte

any other through the polishing and adorning of Reason by these Sciences.

Knight.

Of my sayth I am glad it was my chaunce to haue you in my company at this time, for of a wise man, a man may alwayes learne. But mee thought yee sayde lately to my neighbour the Tapper, that wee should haue learned men few ynough within a while if y^e world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what should be y^e cause thereof.

Doctor.

Why learning
should decay.

I shewed you all ready one great cause of the same: that was, where I shewed you that most men were of that opinion, that they thought learning ynough to write & reade, another cause is y^e they see no preferment ordered for learned men, nor yet any honour or estimation geuen them like as hath bene in time past. But rather the contrary, y^e more learned, the more troubles, losses, & vexations they come vnto.

Knight.

God forbid. Howe so?

Doctor.

Mary haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late within this xx. or xxx. yeares, & all for declaring their opinions in thinges that haue rylen in controuersie, haue you not knowne when one Opinion hath bene set forth, and who so euer sayd against that, were put to trouble: and shortly after, when the contrary opinion was furthered and set forth, were not the other that prospered before put to trouble for saying their minds against this latter opinion: and so neither of both parties escaped but eyther first or last hee came to bee hit, of whether side soeuer he were, except it were some wetherwise fellows, that coulde chaunge their opinions as y^e more & stronger part did chaunge theirs: and what were they that came to these troubles, the singularest fellows of both parties for there came no other to the concertacion of these things but such who seeing in steede of honour, and preferment, dishonour, and hinderaunce, recompenced for a reward of learning:

learning: wil any either put his childe to that science that may bying him no better fruite than this: or what scholer shall haue any courrage to study to come to that ende: the rarity of scholers, and solitude of the Uniuersities doe declare this to be truer then any man wth speach can declare.

Then I perceauē euery man findeth himselfe greued at this time, & no man goeth cleare as farre as I can perceauē. The Gentleman that he cannot lyue on his Landes onely as his father did befoze: the Artificers cannot set so many a worke by reason all maner of victayle is so deere: the Husbandman by reason his Lande is deerer rented then befoze: then we that be Marchaunts pay much deerer for euery thing that commeth ouer sea: which great dertyth (I speake in cōparison of former times) hath ben alwayes in a maner at a stay euer after that balenesse of our English Coyne, which happened in the later yeares of Kyng Henry the epght.

Marchaunt.

That euery state findeth himselfe greued.

I doubt not but if any sorte of men haue licked themselves whole, yee be the same: for what oddes so euer there happen to bee in exchaunge of things, yee that bee Marchaunts can espy it straight: for example, because yee touched somewhat of h Coyne, as soone as euer yee perceiue the price of that enhaunsed, yee by and by what was to bee worne therein beyonde sea, raked all the olde Coyne for h most parte in the Realme, and founde the meanes to haue it carped ouer, so as litle was lefte behinde within this Realme of such olde Coyne in a very shorthe space, which in my Opyinion is a great cause of this dearchy h hath bene since of all things.

Doctor.

That Marchaunts best saue themselves in euery alteration.

Of our olde Coyne exhausted.

How can h be what maketh it to the matter what sorte of Coyne we haue among our selues so it be currant from one hand to another, yea if it were made of Leather.

Knight.

Yea, so men commonly say, but the truth is contrary, as not onely I coulde proue by common reason, but also h

Doctor.

A brieſe Conceipte

Doctor.

Whether it
make any mat-
ter of vvhhat
mettall the
Coyne bee
made of.

What men are
moſt pinched
by this comon
Dearth.

That the
Prince hath
moſt loſſe by
this comon
Dearth.

prooſe & experience hath already declared the ſame: but
nowe we doe not reaſon of the cauſes of theſe griefes, but
what ſtates of men bee grieued in deepe by this dearth of
things, and albeit I heare euery man finde him ſelfe grie-
ued by it in one thinge or other, yet conſidering y^e as many
of them as haue wares to ſell, doe enhaunſe as much in y^e
pryce of thinges that they ſell, as was enhaunſed befoze in
the prices of thinges that they muſt buy: as the Merchant
if he buy deere hee will ſell deere againe: ſo theſe Artiſ-
cers, as Cappers, & lothiers, & homakers, and Farmers
haue reſpect large ynough in ſellinge their wares to the
pryce of victayle, Woolle, & Iron, which they buy, I haue
ſcene a Cap for xiiii. pence as good as I can get now for it.
ſhillings ſixe pence: of cloth yee haue heard how the pryce
is rylene. Now a payre of ſhoos coſt twelue pence, yet in
my time I haue bought a better for ſixe pence. Now I can
get neuer a horſe ſhoed vnder ten pence or twelue pence,
where I haue alſo ſcene the comon pryce was ſixe pence.
I cannot therefore vnderſtande that theſe men haue grea-
teſt griefe by this comon and vniuerſall dearth, but ra-
ther ſuch as haue their Lyinges and Stypendes rated
at a certaynty, as common Laborers at eight pence a day,
Tourneyemen of all occupations, ſeruing men to forty ſhy-
llings a yere: and Gentlemen whoſe landes are ſet out by
them and their Anceſtors, either for lyues or for terme of
yeares, ſo as they cannot enhaunce y^e rents thereof though
they would, and yet haue the pryce enhaunſed to them of e-
uery thing that they buy. Yea, the Prince of whom wee
ſpeake nothing of all this while, as ſhe hath moſt of yea-
ly Reuenues and that certayne, ſo ſhould ſhe haue moſt
loſſe by this dearth, and by the alteration ſpecially of the
Coyne, for like as a man that hath a great number of ſer-
uaunts vnder him if he would graūt that they ſhould pay
him pinnes weekly, where befoze they payde him pence,
I thinke

I thinke he should be most looser him selfe: so wee bee all but gatherers for the Prince, and of that which cometh to vs, wee haue but euery man a poore liuinge, the cleare gaynes cometh for the most part to the Prince, now if her highnes doe take of vs the ouerplus of our gettings in this base Coyne, I reporte me to you wether y will go as farre as good Honey in y Prouision of necessities for her selfe and the Realme. I thinke plainely no, for though her grace might within this realme haue thinges at her owne price, as her grace cannot in deede without great grudge of her Maiesties subiects, yea since her Maiesty must haue from beyonde the Seas many thinges necessary, not onely for her graces household, and Ornamentes aswell of her person and family, as of her houses which perraise might bee by her Grace somewhat moderated: but also for the furniture of her warres, which by no meanes can be spared, as Armoz of all kindes, Artillary, Ankers, Cables, Pitch, Tarre, Iron, Steele, (yea, I iudge farther) some Handgunnes, Gunne powder, and many other thinges more than I can reckon, which her Grace sometimes doth buy from beyonde the Seas, at the prices that the straungers will set them at: I passe ouer y enhaunishment of y charges of her Graces household which is common to her Grace withall other noble men, therefore (I say) her Maiesty should haue most losse by this common dearth of all other: and not onely losse, but daunger to the Realme and all her subiects, if her Grace should want Treasure to purchase the sayde Prouision and necessities for warre, or to finde Souldiers in time of neede, which passeth all y other priuate losses that wee speake of.

What daunger should it be to the Realme if the Prince should want Treasure in time of neede.

Wee heere say that the Queene's Maiesties mint maketh vp her losses that way, by the gaynes which she hath by the Mint another way, and if that bee to shorthe shee supplieth that lacke by Subsidies, and impositions of her

Capper.

Subiects

A brieſe Conceipte

Subiects, ſo as her Grace can haue no lacke, ſo longe as her Subiectes hath it.

Doctor.

Hovve the
Queenes Ma-
ieſty cannot
haue Treſure
when her ſub-
iects haue
none.

To vvhat pro-
fit the nev v
Mint is like.

Yee ſay well there, ſo long as the Subiects haue it, ſo it is meete the Queene ſhould haue as long as they haue it: but what and they haue it not, for they cannot haue it, when there is no Treſure leſte within the Realme, and as touchinge the Mint, I coumpt that profit much like, as if a man woulde take his woode by by the rote to make the more profit thereof at one time, and euer after to loſe ſ profit that might growe thereof yearly: or to pull ſ wooll of his ſheepe by the roote, and as for the Subſidies, howe can they be large when the Subiects haue litle to departe with: & yet ſ way of gathering treaſure is not alwayes moſt laufe for the Prynces ſuertie: and wee ſee many times the profits of ſuch Subſidies ſpent in the appealing of the people that are mooued to ſedition, partly by occaſion of the ſame.

Knight.

Nowe that it was our chaunce to meete with ſo wiſe a man as yee be, Maſter Doctor. I would wee did go thorow with ſ whole diſcourſe of this matter, & as hether to wee haue enſearched the very ſozes, and grieues that euerie man feelleth: ſo to try out the cauſes of them, and ſ cauſes once knowne, the remedy of them might be ſoone apparent, and though we be not the men that can reforme them, yet percaſe ſome of vs may come in place where wee may aduertise other of the ſame that might further and helpe forward the redreſſe of theſe thinges.

Doctor,

A Gods name I am content to beſtowe this day to ſatiffie your pleaſures, & though this cōmunication(percaſe) ſhould doe no great good, yet it can doe no harme I truſt, nor offend no man, ſich it is had betweene vs heere a parte and in good manner.

Knight.

No, what man ſhould be angry with him that were in an houſe, and eſpied ſome faulte in the Beames, or Rafters of

ters of the same, and would ensearch þ default & then cer-
tifie the good man of the house thereof or some other dwel-
ling therēin, aswell for his owne sauegarde as for others:
but for as much as wee haue thus farre proceeded as to þ
findinge out of the griefes, which as farre as I perceaue
stādeth in these poynts (that is to say) dearth of all things
in comparison of the former age, though there be scarcens
of nothing, desolation of Countreys by Inclosures, desola-
tion of towne for lacke of occupations, and Craftes: and
diuision of Opinions in matters of Religion, which ha-
leth men, to and fro, & maketh them to contend one against
another. Nowe let vs goe to the Garden vnder the Vine,
where hauing a good freshe and coole sitting for vs, in the
shadow, there wee may proceede further on this matter
at leasure. And I will be speake our Supper heere with
myne host that wee may all suppe together. A Gods name
(quoth euery one of the rest of the company) for wee are
weary here of sitting so long. And so wee all departed to
the Garden.

A recapitulati-
on of the com-
mon griefes.

D. THE

THE SECOND DIA-
logue, wherein the causes or
occasions of the sayd griefes are en-
creased.

Knight.



Then we had walked

vp and downe in þe sayd Garden a
pety whyle, I thought long till I
had hearde moze of the sayd Doc-
tors communication, for hee seem-
ed to mee a very wise man, not af-
ter þe common sort of these Clarke
which can talke nothing but of the

faculty that they profess: as if they be Deuines, of diu-
inity: Lawyers of þe lawe: & Physicians of phisicke onely:
this man spake very naturally of euery thinge, as a man
vniuersally seene that had ioyned good learning with good
wit, and therefore I desired him and the rest of our sayde
companions to resorte agayne to the matter that wee left
at, and first to discourse & search out what should be þe cau-
ses of the sayd common and vniuersall dearth of all things
(in comparisson of þe former age) saying to þe Doctor thus.
I maruayle much maister Doctor what should be þe cause
of this dearth, seeing all thinges are (thankes be to God)
so plentyfull. There was neuer moze plenty of Cattell the
there is nowe of all sortes. And yet it is scarlity of things
which commonly maketh dearth: this is a maruaylous
dearth, that in such plenty commeth, contrary to his kinde.

That it is a
maruaylous
Dearth that
commeth in
time of plenty.

Doctor.

Syr it is (no doubt) a thing to be mused vpon, and wor-
thy of Inquisition: let mee heare euery one of your opini-
ons, and than yee shall heare myne.

Husband.

I thinke it is longe of you Gentlemen, that this dearth
grow

groweth, by reasoⁿ yee enhaunse your lands to such a heygth as men that liueth thereon must needes sell deere agayne, or els they were neuer able to make their Rent.

The occasion
of this dearth
is layde to the
Gentlemen,
Knight.

And I say it is long of you Husbandmen, that wee are forced to rayse our Rents by reason we must buy so deere all things that wee haue of you, as Corne, Cattell, Goole, Pig, Capon, Chicken, Butter, and Egges. What thinge is there of all these but that yee sell it nowe deerer by the one halfe then yee did within these xxx. yeares: cannot you neyghbour remember that within these xxx. yerres I could in this towne buy the best Pig or Goole that I could laye my hand on for foure pence, which now costeth twelue p^{er}ce, a good Capon for thre pence, or foure pence, a Chicken for i. d. a Hen for ii. d. which now costeth mee double & triple p^{er} money: it is likewise in greater ware, as Biese & Butter.

From the G^entlemen it is
layde to the
Husbandmen.

I graunt that, but I say you & your sorte, men of landes are y^e first cause hereof by reason you rayse your landes.

Husband.

Tell, if yee & your sorte will agree thereto, that shalbe holpen, vnder take that you & your sorte will sell al thinge at the p^{ri}ce yee did xxx. yeares agoe, & I doubt not to bring all Gentlemen to let vnto you their landes at the rent they went at xxx. yeares past: and that the fault is more in you that bee Husbandmen then in vs that bee Gentlemen, it appeareth by this, all the landes of the Realme is not enhaunsed, for some haue takings therein, as Leases, or Coppes not yet expyred, which cannot be enhaunsed though y^e owners would, and some Noblemen and Gentlemen there be, that when their landes be at their disposition, yet they will enhaunse no thinge aboue the olde rent, so as a greate parte of the landes of the Realme stand yet at the old rent: and yet neuer thelesse there is none of your sorte at all, but selleth all thinge they haue deerer then they were wont to doe by the one halfe. And yet these Gentlemen that doe enhaunse their rentes, doe not enhaunse it generally to the

Knight.

The G^entle-
mens excuse
and reasonable
offer.

A brieſe Conceipte

double though I confeſſe that ſome of vs that had landes either geuen vs by the Kings highneſſe, & belonged heretofore to Abbeyes, and Priories, and were neuer ſurveyed to & utter moſt before : or otherwiſe deſcended to vs, haue enhaunſed any of them aboue the old rent: yet all & amounteth not to halfe the landes of the Realme.

Doctor.

How ſay yee : he ſayeth well to you nowe : will yee ſell your wares as yee were wont to doe, and hee will let you haue his lande at the rent yee were accuſtomed to haue it. When the Husbandman had pauſed a while, hee ſayd.

Husband.

If I had the price of euery thing that I muſt pay for beſides, likewiſe brought downe, I could be content: els not.

Doctor.

What thinges bee thoſe?

Husband.

Harp, Iron for my Plough, Harrowes, and Cartes : tarre for our ſheepe: ſhoes, cappes, limmen & wollen cloſh for my meany, which if I ſhould buy neuertheleſſe as bere as I doe now, and yet ſell my wares good cheape, though my rent were thereafter abated, except the other thinges aforeſayd might bee abated in pryce to gether, I could neuer lye.

The husband
may reſolue
and putteth o-
uer the ſayde
to Iron Mon-
gers, and clo-
thiers.

Doctor.

Then I perceauē yee muſt haue & price of other things qualified as well as the rent of your land, ere yee can aſord your ware good cheape.

Husband.

Yea, (but ſir) I thinke if the land were brought downe that the pryce of all thinges would fall withall.

Doctor.

Grant that all the Landlords in this realme would withoute aſſent agree that their landes ſhould bee in their Tenants handes, at like rent as they were at xxx. yeares agoe : yee ſayd afore yee could not yet ſell your wares as good cheape as yee mighte xx. yeares paſt, becauſe of the pryce that is rayſed in other thinges that yee muſt buy: and if yee would ſay that thoſe men ſhould be diuē againe to ſell thoſe wares that yee buy, firſt better cheape, and then yee will ſell your wares thereafter. I pray you how might they be com-

be compelled to doe so: they be strangers, and not within
obediēce of our soveraigne Lady, that doe sell such wares,
as Iron, Tarre, Flaxe, and other: then consider mee, if yee
cannot so compell them, whether it were expedient for vs
to suffer strangers to sell all their commodities here, &
wee ours good cheape: if it were so, than it were a greate
enryching of other countreys, and impoverishinge of our
owne, for they shoulde haue much Treasure for theirs, and
haue our commodities from vs for a very litle: except yee
could deuise to make one price of our commodities among
our selues, and a nother outwarde, which I cannot see
how it may bee.

May, I will make my Neighbour heere, another rea-
sonable offer, if hee refuse this: let my Tenantes rent bee
increased as your payment is increased, after the rate and
yet I am contented.

Husband. What meane yee by that?

I meane this, yee sell that yee were wont to sell a fore-
time for xx. groates, now for xxx. let my rent bee increased
after that proportion and rate that is for every xx. groates
of olde rent x. shillings, and so as the pryce of your wares
ysleth, and yet I doe but keepe my lands at y^e olde rent.

My bargayne was to pay for my hold, but iii. poundes
xiii. shillings, iii. s. yearly of rent, and I pay that true-
ly, yee can require no more of mee.

I cannot much say agaynst that, but yet I perceiue I
shalbe still a loser by that bargayne though I cannot tell y^e
reason why: but I perceiue yee sell deere: that yee liue on,
and I good cheape that which is my liuing: help me May-
ster Doctor I pray you, for the Husbandman driueth mee
to the Wall.

Mary but mee thinketh touching y^e matter yee did rea-
son of, yee draue him to his shifts, that is, to confesse that
this dearch ysleth not at your hand: And though he do de-

If all Landes
were abated
in their rent,
whether this
dearth vould
be remedied.

That it were
not expedient
that stran-
gers should sel
deere and vs
ours good and
cheape and so
detract our

Knight.
A nother offer
of the Gentle-
man made to
the Husband-
man.
Knight.

Husband.

Knight.

Doctor.

A brieue Conceipte

Whether if the
Husbandman
were forced
to abate
the prices
of his stuffe
this dearth
should be
mended.

send him selfe for his payment to you by colour of a lawe,
yet he seemeth to cōfesse thus much, that the lawe compell-
eth you to take litle for your land, & that there is no lawe
to restrayne him; but hee may sell his wares as deere as
he listeth; it is ynough for your purpose that yee took in
hand to proue that this dearth rose not first at your hande,
but whether the pyces of thinges increasing as they doe:
it were reason yee did rayse your wares (which is your
lande) or to bee payde after the olde rate: whan yee did set
your land, if yee be compelled to pay for your prouision af-
ter the new rate, we will talke of that heere after, or let y
to be considered of otherwise men: but now let vs see if the
Husbandman were forced to sell his thinges good cheape
whether all thinges shoulde hee well then. Our Englishe
Coine being supposed to be base, and of no such estimati-
on in other countreyes as within our owne Realme (as for
the most parte it hath bene) before that it was reformed by
our noble Prince which now we raggeth: put y case this, y
this husbandman shoulde be cōmanded to sell his wheate
at viii. d. the bushell, Rye at vi. d. Barley at iiii. d. his pig
and goose at iiii. d. his capon at iiii. d. his Henne at i. d. ob.
his Woolle at a marke the Todde, Vieses and Mutons af-
ter the olde pyces as in time past haue bene: he hath then
ynough to pay his Landlord, as hee had in time past: his
Landlorde agayne hath as much rent as hee was wont to
haue; and the same when the pyce is so set, will goe as far
for the sayd wares, whereof y pyces be thus set as so much
of olde Coine, payde after the olde wont would haue done:
all this is yet well, heere is yet neither Lord, nor Tenant
griued: well let vs goe farther, the Husbandman must
buy Iron, Salt, Tarre, Pitch, and suppose hee shoulde bee
also forced to reare by flaxe on his owne, and that pyces
of cloth both Linnen, & Wollen, & Leather were set after
the rate. The Gentleman must buy Wyne, Spices, Sil-
kes, Ar-

Res, Armour, Glasse to glasse his house withall. Iron also
for Cooles, Weapons, and other Instruments necessary,
as Salt, Oyles, & many other diuerse thinges, more then
I can reckon without tyme: whereof they may in no wise
want, as Iron, & Salt, for of þ which is within þ Realme
of both, is not halfe sufficient for the same: Oyles, Tarre,
Pitch, & Rozyn, whereof wee haue none at all, and with-
out some other of the said commodities wee could liue but
grossly, and Barbarously, as without Wyne, Spices, &
Silkes, these must bee brought from beyonde the Seas,
shall wee buy them as good cheape after the rate: A man
would thinke yes, for when straungers should see that with
lesse money then they were wont to take for these wares,
they may buy as much of the commodities of this realme
as they were wonte a foze with more money, they will bee
content to take the lesse money when it goeth as farre as þ
more went before, and so sell their wares as good cheape:
(as for an example) if they sell nowe a parde of Alester for
xx. s. or xxii. s. and payeth that for a Cobbe of Wooll, were
it not as good for the then to sell their Alester at a marke
a parde, so they had a Cobbe of Wooll for a marke:

I would thinke so, for thereby hee should be at no more Knight.
losse then hee is now. And so the like reason may serue for
Iron, Wyne, Salt, Spice, Oyles, Pitch, Tarre, flaxe,
Ware, and all other outwarde commodities.

If I should aske you this question, whether they should Doctor,
bee compelled by a lawe to sell their wares so or no: what
could yee say:

It maketh no matter whether it were so or no, & I thinke Knight.
they cannot, because they be out of the Princes Dominions,
and at liberty, whether they will bring any thinge to vs. or
no, but seeinge they may haue all thinges heere, as good
cheape at that pryce they sell for lesse money, as they had
before for the greater pryce they will willingly bring their
wares and sell them so. There-

A brieue Conceipte,

Doctor.

The straügers
vwill take but
money currāt
euery vwhere
for their vware
hat they haue
on their
charge

Thereof I doubt, upon the former supposition of our base
Coyne; for I thinke they woulde sell still at the highest as
they doe now, or bring nothinge at all to vs. For yee must
vnderstand they come not alwayes for our comodities, but
sometimes to sell theirs heere, knowing it heere to be best
vendible and to buy in other countreyes other comodities
where the same is best cheape, & some times to sell in one
parte of the Realme their wares that bee there most desi-
red, and to goe to some other parte of the realme for the co-
modities that be there most abundaunt and best cheape: or
partly of our Countrey & partly of another, and for y pur-
pose Coyne vniuersally currant is most comodious, spec-
ially if they entred to bestow it in any other place, the where
they were vnladē of their marchandise. Now if our coine
were not so allowed in other places as it is heere, the strai-
ger should be at greater losses, if he should take our coine
for his wares, he had leauer bring his wares to other pla-
ces, where hee might haue Coyne currant in all places for
it, that he might bestowe where and when hee list. If they
woulde looke but for our wares for theirs, thinke yee that
they woulde not study to bring to vs such wares or stuffe as
should be best cheape with them, & most deere with vs.

Knight.

Yea no doubt, that is the polisie of all Marchaunts.

Doctor.

What stuffe is that frome you?

Knight.

Hary Glasses of all sorte, painted Clothes, & Papers,
Dringes, Pippens, Cherries, perfumed Gloues, & such
like trifles.

Doctor.

That straun-
gers and all
Marchauntes
bring thinges
that bee best
cheape to the

Yee say well, they will per case attempt vs with such, &
such thinges as are good cheape with them, it collecth but
their laboures onely and their peoples, which els should be
told, yet these thinges be some what after the price in other
places vendible as well as heere. But when wee feele the
lacke of Iron, Steele, Salt, Pempe, & lare, & such other,
such light wares as yee speake of will not be desired here,

but re-

but relecten, and these other looked for what other things
els will they bring to the you.

Percase yee meane, Silkes, Tynnes, and Spices?

No not that, for those bee in good price els where.

What then should they haue to utter to vs, that is best
cheape with them and deere est with vs?

Brasse, for it should go to them but for Brasse in deede,
and therefore good cheape; and heere with vs a great part
for Silver, and therefore deere with vs; and if they would
bring into vs.

Now, in brasse Pots, Pans, and other Cessel of brasse:

Not sorno man would take such Stuffe but for Brasse
in deede.

How then? Then the Doctor tolde mee, that it was in
Coyne made beyonde sea like in all thinges to our Coyne,
which they brought ouer in heapes, and when they see that
esteemed heere as silver, they bringe that for our commo-
dities, as, for our Woolles, felles, Cheese, butter, Cloth,
Linne, and Ledde, which thing euery man will bee glad to
sell for the most they can get: and beinge offered of straun-
gers more of our Coine then they may get within the coun-
trei, they will sell them to straungers rather then vs with
whom the price is less: then straungers may aforde þ Coine
good cheape; for they make it them selues, and the Stuffe
is good cheape that they make it of, and so they will geue
thereof for our sayde commodities as much as yee will aske.

Then though they made not such Coyne theselues, yet see-
ing they must pay more for our wares, or els no mā would
bring them to them, when hee may haue as much at home
of his neighbours, the straungers must needs haue a con-
sideration of that in the price of þ sayd outwarde marchan-
dize that they sell, & also holde them deerer. And thus by
the one way they may exhaust our chiefe commodities, and
geue vs brasse for them, where with wee cannot buy such

E.

like o.

and deere est
with vs.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

A brieft Conceipte

**Glauci &
Diomêdis
permutatio.**

He that selles
good cheape
and buieth
deere shall not
lightly thriue.

Knight.

Doctor.

It is not possi-
ble to keepe
our Treasure
from going
forth of the
Realme, if it
be in more esti-
mation els-
where.

other like necessary commodities againe, as wee shoulde want if they were not plenty within our Realme. Much like the exchange that Homer sayeth Glaucus made with Diomêdes, when he gaue to this man his golden Harneſſe for Braſen. But ſ other way they muſt needes be brought to ſell their wares deerer to vs, and then if this huſbandman and Gentleman, and ſo all other within this realme ſhould be compelled to ſell their thinges good cheape, and yet buy all thinges deere that cometh from beyonde the Sea: I cannot ſee how they ſhould long proſper, for I neuer knew him that bought deere and ſould good cheape, and uſe it any long ſpace, to thine.

There may be ſearchers made for ſuch Coyners as yee ſpeake of coming in, and puniſhments deuised therefore, and for going forth of Victayles alſo, that none ſhall paſſe this Realme.

There may be no deuise imagined ſo ſtrong, but that yee may be deceaued in both thoſe points, as wel in ſuch coine brought in, as in victayles caried forth: for many heads wil deuise many wayes to get any thing by, & though wee bee enuironed with a good Poole (that is the Sea) yet there is to many Poſterns of it to get out and in, vnwares of ſ maſter. Whatſoeuer hath but a pretty houſe with any family of his owne, and but one Gate to go forth and come in at, and the maſter of ſ houſe neuer ſo attentue, yet ſometimes what ſhal be purloined forth, much more out of ſuch a large Realme as this is, hauinge ſo many wayes and Poſterns to goe forth at and come in. And yet if ſtraungers ſhoulde be content to take but our wares for theirs, what ſhoulde let them to aduaunce ſ prices of their wares, though ours were good cheape vnto them, and then ſhall wee be ſtill loſers and they at the winning hand with vs, while they ſell deere and buy good cheape, and conſequently enrich themſelues and impoveriſhe vs. Yet had I leauer aduaunce our wares in

wares in price as they aduance theirs (as wee now doe) though some bee losers thereby, but yet not so many as should bee the other way. And yet, what businesse shoulde there be in making of prices of euery trifle, for so it would be, if the price of any one thinge bee a bated by commaundement: and therfore I cannot perceaue that it may bee remedied by either of you both (I meane you Gentleman, & you good husbandman) for if it rose at either of your hands, so it might be remedied like wise at the same, by releasing the thing agayne at either of your handes that was the cause of this dearth. But if either you should release your rents, or you the price of your Tictayle to the olde rate, yet that coulde not compell straungers to bring downe the price of theirs as I haue sayde: and so longe as their commodities be deere, it were neither expedient nor yet could yee though yee would make your commodities good cheape (except yee can devise away how to liue without them & they without you) which I thinke impossible: or else to vse exchange of ware for ware without Coyne (as it was before Coyne was founde) as I reade in the time of Homer it was, and also the Ciuile lawe doth affirme the same, which were very combersome, and would require much cariage of ware by and downe, where nowe by the benefit of Coyne a man may by those tokens fetch the wares that hee lacketh a far off, without great trouble of cariage: and hard were it readily to finde all wares that the one hath to pay the other, of equall value.

If neither the Gentleman nor I may remedy this matter at whose hands lyeth it to bee holpen then?

I will tell my mynde therein hereafter, but first let vs houlde out the cause of this Dearth. And therefore let mee learne, what other thing shoulde be the cause thereof.

Mary these Inclosures, and great Pastures are a great cause of the same. Whereby men do turne the erable land

That the dearth rose neither at the Gentlemans nor Husbandmans hand.

Permutation of things by fore Coyne.

Husband.

Doctor.

Capper.

A brieſe Conceipte

Complaynt a-
gainſt ſheepe-
maiſters

being a living for diuerſe poore men before time, nowe to
one mans hand, and where both Come of all ſorte, and al-
ſo cattell of all kinds were reared aforesetime, now there is
nothing but onely ſheepe. And in ſteede of C. or CC. per-
ſons that had their living thereon, now be there but three
or foure Shepherds and the Paſſer onely that hath a li-
uing thereof.

Doctor...

See touch a matter that is much to be conſidered, albe-
it I take not that to be onely ſ cause of this dearth at this
time, but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kinde of
incloſing doe aſmuch increaſe in xxx. yeares to come, as it
hath done in xxx. yeares paſt, it may come to ſ great deſo-
lation and weakning of the ſtrength of this realme, which is
more to be feared the dearth, & I thinke it to be ſ moſt oc-
caſion of any thing yee ſpake yet, of theſe wilde & unhappie
byrdes ſhath bene among vs: for by reaſon of theſe Inclo-
ſures many Subiectes haue no Grounde to live vpon, as
they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes ſet a
worke all a like, and therefore the people ſtill increaſinge,
and their linings diminuiſhing, it muſt needs come to paſſe
that a great part of ſ people ſhalbe idle and lacke linunge,
for hunger is a bitter thing to beare. Wherefore they muſt
needes what they lacke, murmur agayne them ſ haue ple-
ty, and ſo ſtirre theſe tumultes.

That Inclo-
ſures is the oc-
caſion of deſo-
lation & wea-
king the pov-
er of the
Realme,

Knight.

Experience ſhould ſeeme to proue playnely that Inclo-
ſures ſhould be profitable and not hurtfull to the common
weale: for we ſee ſ countreys where moſt Incloſers be are
moſt wealthy, as Eſſex, Kent, North Hamptonſhyre, &c.
And I haue heard a Ciuitian once ſay, that it was take for
a Maxime in his lawe (this ſaying) that which is poſſeſſed
of many in common is neglected of all, & experience ſhew-
eth that Tenaunts in comon be not ſo good husbannes as
when euery man hath his parte in ſeueraltie, alſo I haue
heard ſay that in the moſt countreys beyonde ſ Sea, they
knowe

Quod in cō-
muni poſſi-
detur ab om-
nibus negli-
gitur.

Reasons to de-
ſend Incloſures

knowe not what a common ground meaueth.

I meane not of all Inclosures, nor yet all communs, but onely of such Inclosures as turneth comon & erable fields into pasture, and violent Inclosures of communs without iust recompence of them that haue right to comen there: in: for if land were seuerally enclosed to the intent to continewe husbandry thereon, and euery man that hath right to comen had for his portion a piece of y^e same to himselfe inclosed, I thinke no harime but rather good should come thereof, if euery man did agree thereto: but yet it would be not be sodaynely done, for there be many pooze cottages in England, which hauing no lands of their own to liue one, but their handy labour and some refreshinge vpon y^e sayde comens, which if they were sodaynely thrust out from that commoditie, might make a great tumult and a disorder in the commonweale, and percase also if men were suffered to inclose their grounds vnder the pretence to keepe it still in tillage, within a while after they would turne all to Pasture, as wee see they doe now, too fast.

If they finde more profit thereby then otherwise, why should they not?

I can tel why they should not wel ynough, for they may not purchase themselves profit by y^e which may be hurtfull to other: but how to bring them y^e they would not so doe, is al the matter, for so long as they finde more profit by pasture then by tillage, they will still inclose and turne erable land to pastures. (q^d the Knight. That well may be restrained by lawes, if it were thought most profitable for y^e common weale, but all men doe not agree to that poynte.

I wot well they doe not, and therefore it were hard to make a lawe therein: so many as haue profit by that matter resisting it. And if such a law were made, yet men studying still of there most profit, would defraud the lawe by one meane or other.

Doctor.

What kinde of Inclosures is hurtfull.

Knight.

Doctor.

Whether that which is profitable to one may be profitable to all other if they vse the same feare.

Knight.

Doctor.

A brieft Conceipte

Knight.

I haue heard oftentimes much reasoning in this matter and some in maintenance of these Inclosures would make this reason, every man is a Member of the commonweale, & that, which is profitable to one mā may be profitable to another, if he would exercise the same feate. Therefore that which is profitable to mee & so to another, may be profitable to all, and so to y^e whole commonweale: as a great Masse of Treasure consisteth of many pence, and one penny added to another and so to the thirde and fourth &c. maketh by a great summe, so both each man added one to another make by the whole body of a commonweale.

Doctor.

That reason is good adding some what more to it, true it is, that, y^e thing which is profitable to each man by himselfe, so it be not preiudiall to any other, is profitable to y^e whole commonweale, and not otherwise, or else stealing or robbing which percase is profitable to some men, were profitable to the commonweale, which no man will admit, but this feate of inclosinge is so, y^e where it is profitable to one man it is preiudiciall to many, therefore I thinke that reason sufficiently answered.

Knight.

Also they will laye forth another Reason, saying, that, y^e which is our owne comodity should bee alwayes aduanced as much as might be, and these sheepes profit is one of the greatestt commodity wee haue, therefore it ought to be aduanced as high as it may bee.

Doctor.

Euery commodity must bee aduanced so as it be not preiudiciall to other greater commodities.

I could aunswere that argumēt with the like reason as I did the other: true it is, we ought to aduance our owne commodity as much as wee can, so it bee not to as much more the hinderaunte of our other commodities. Or else where as the herde of Coneyes, Deere, and such like is a commodity of this Realme. Yet if wee shoulde turne all our erable grounde to nourishe that commodity, and geue by the Plough and all other commodities for it, it were a great folly.

They

They will say agayne, that all Groundes bee not meete
for sheepe.

Knight.

It is a very ill Grounde but either it serueth to breede
sheepe, or to feede them vpon: and if al that is meete either
for the one, were turned to the mayntenaunce of Sheepe
and none other thing, where shall wee haue our other co-
modities growe?

Doctor.

All cannot doe so, though some doe.

Knight.

What should let the all to do y which they see some do, yea
what should better encourage them thereto, the to see the
that do it be come notable riche men in short time by y do-
ing thereof. And the if euery man should do so one follow-
ing the example of another, what should ensue thereof but
a meere solitude and bitter desolation of the whole realme
furnished onely with Sheepe, and Sheepherdes in steede
of good men: where by it might be a pray to the enemyes y
first would set vpon it, for then the sheepe Haysters & their
Sheepherdes could make no resistance to the contrary.

Doctor.

Who can let them to make their most aduantage of y
which is their owne?

Knight.

Yes many men may not vse their owne thinges to the
damage of the commonweale: yet for all this that I see, it
is a thinge most necessary to be prouided for, yet I cannot
perceauie it should be the only cause of this dearth, for this
Inclosinge and greate grasinge if it were occasion of that
dearth of any thing. it must be of Corne chiefly, and nowe
these many yeares past we had Corne good cheape inough.
And the dearth y was then most, was of cattell, as Bieffes
and Buttons, and the broode of these are rather increased
then diminished by Pastures and inclosinges.

Doctor.

Why should men bee then so much offended with these
Inclosures.

Knight.

Yes & not without great cause, for though these many
yeares past through the great bounty of God, we haue had
much

Doctor.

No man may
abuse his owne
thinges to the
preiudice of
the common-
weale.

A brieſe Conceipte

much plenty of Corne whereby it hath bene good cheape, one Acre bearing as much Corne as two moſt commonly were wont to do: yet if theſe yeares had chaunced to be but meanelly fruitfull of Corne (no doubt) we ſhould haue had as great dearth of Corne as we had of other thinges. And then it had bene in a maner an vndoing of the poore Commens. And if heereafter there ſhould chaunce any barren yeares of Corne to fall, wee ſhould bee aſſured to finde as greate extremitie in the price of Corne from y it was wont to bee, as we finde now in the prices of other victayle. And ſpecially if we haue not ynough to ſerue within y Realme which may happen heereafter moze likely then in time paſt, by reaſon that there is much lande ſince turned to paſture, for euery man wil ſeek where moſt aduantage is, & they ſee there is moſt aduantage in graſing and breeding, then in huſbandry and tillage by a great deale. And ſo longe as it is ſo, the Paſture ſhall neuer increaſe vpon tillage for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrary.

Knight

Doctor.

Knight,

Doctor.

How Incloſures may be remedied without constraint of lawes.

Knight.

Doctor.

And how thinke yee that this might be remedied then?

To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for rate, as the profit of the Graſſe and ſheepe maſter is.

How coulde that be done?

Maſter I coniecture two manner of wayes, but I feare me the deuils ſhall ſeeme at the firſt bliſh ſo diſpleaſant vnto you ere yee conſider it thoroughly, that yee will reiect theſe ere yee examyne theſe: for we ſaie now, to haue thinges good cheape: and then if I ſhould mention a meane y ſhould make ſome thinges dearer for the time I ſhould be a none reiectted, as a man y ſpake againſt euery mans purpoſe.

Yet ſay your miſde and ſpare not, and though your reaſon at the firſt ſeeme vnreaſonable, yet we will heare whether yee can bring it to any reaſonable ende.

Remember what we haue in hand to create of, not how the prices of thinges onely may be brought downe: but howe

how these Inclosures may bee broken vp and husbandry more vbled: of the prices of thinges we shall speake heere after.

Wee will remember well that.

What maketh men to multiply pastures & Inclosures gladly.

Partly the profit that groweth thereby. It is very true and none other thinge. Then finde the meanes to doe one of these two thinges that I shall tell you. And yee shall make them as glad to exercise tillage, as they doe nowe Pastures.

What be those two thinges?

Partly, either make as litle gaynes to growe by Pastures as there groweth by tillage. Or els make them may growe as much profit by tillage as did before by the Pastures, and then I doubt not but tillage shall be aswell cherished of euery man as Pasture.

And how may that be done?

Partly the first way is to make Woolle to be of as base price to the breeders thereof, as the Corne is: and so shall be, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing ouer Sea, vnmought as yee make of Corne: another is to increase the custome of Woolle that passeth ouer vnmought. And by that the price of it shall be abated to the breeders, and yet the price ouer Sea shall be neuer the lesse: but that which is increased in the price thereof vnmoughters shall come to the Queenes highnesse, which is as profitable to the Realme as though it came to the breeders, and might relieve them of other subsidies. & husbanders as touching the bringing downe of the price of Woolles, now to the inhaunsinge of the price of corne, to be as good to the husbandman as wooll should be, and that might be brought to passe if yee wil let it haue as free passage ouer Sea at all times, as yee haue now for Woolle.

By the first two wayes, men woulde send lesse wooll a-ur sea then they doe nowe, and by that way the Queenes

ff.

custome

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

That a like restraint of wooll should be made as is of Corne, or none to be sent ouer.

Marchaunt.

A brieft Conceipte

enforce should be diminished by your latter way & price of Corn should be much enbarked, wherewith men would be much grieved.

Doctor.
Doctor.

I know well it would be deere at the firste, but if I can perswade you that it were reasonable, it were so, and that the same could be no hinderance to the Realme binerfully, but greater profit to y^e same, then I thinke yee would be content it should be so: and as touching the Queenes custome I will speake afterward.

Marchant.
Doctor.

I graunt if yee could shewe mee that.

I will assay it, albeit the matter bee somewhat intricate, and as I shewed you before, at the first yee would dislike many, for they would say, would yee make Corn deerer then it is, haue wee not dearth y^eough els without that: May I pray you finde the meanes to haue it better cheape if it may bee, it is deere y^eough already, and such other like reasons would be sayd. But now let the husbandman answer such againe. Haue not you Grassers rayled the price of your Cattel, and fellees; and you Marchant men, Glothiers, and Tappers, rayled y^e price of your merchandize and wares, ouer it was wont to bee in manner double; is it not a good reason then that we should raise the price of our Corn what reason is it you should be at large and free to bee restrained. Either let vs all bee restrained together, or els let vs bee all at like liberty, yee may sell your Woolle ouer Sea, your felles, your tallow, your Cheese, your Butter, and your Leather, (which rayleth all by grasping) at your pleasure, and for y^e deereest penny yee can get for them. And we shal not sell out our corn, except it be at x. s. the bushell or vnder, that is as much to say, as much that husbandmen shal not sell our ware except it be for nothing, or for so litle as we shal not be able to liue thereon. Thinke you if the husbandman here had spoke these words, that he did not speake them some what

Reasons why
the Husband-
man should
be at like liberty
as other to
sell his wares.

Answer.

Answer.

7.

reap.

reasonable.

I thanke you withall my heart, for yee haue spoken in þ
matter more then I could doe my selfe, and yet nothing but
that is most true. Wee fele the harme, but wee will not
what was the cause thereof; many of vs saue well long a
goe, that our profite was but small by the plough, & there-
fore diuulge of my neighbours that had in tyme past, some
two, some three, some foure ploughes of their owne, haue
layde downe some of them part, and some of them all their
cremes, and turned either parte of al their crable ground
to pasture; and thereby haue waxed very rich men. And
euery day some of vs nicholath some part of his ground to
pasture, and were it not that our groundes were so com-
mon fieldes entermingled one with another, I thinke also
our fieldes had bene enclosed of common agreement of all
the township longe of this tyme. And to say þ very truly
I that haue inclosed little of nothing of my ground, coulde
neuer be able to make up my Lords rent, were it not for a
little herd that I haue of sheepe, swyne, geese, and
hennes, that I doe reare vpon my groundes. Whereof be-
cause þ price is somewhat round: I make more cleare pro-
fit then I doe of all my towe, & yet I haue but a very bare
liuing, by reason that many thynges doe belong to husban-
drie, which bee now exceeding chargeable ouer they were
in tyme past.

Though this reason of maister Dectons here doth please
you well that he husbandmen, yet it pleaseh vs that he ar-
tificers nothing at all, which buy most both breade Corne,
and make towe for our peny; and wheras ye maister doc-
tor say that it were as good reason that the husbandman
should reple the price of his towe, and haue as free vente of
the same ouer sea, as we doe and haue of our wares: I ca-
not greatly deny, but thus yet I say that euery man hath
neede of towe, but they haue not so much of other wares.

f 2.

There

Hulband,

Thar by bree-
ding the hus-
band hath most
cleare gaynes.

Capper.

A brieſe Conceipte

Doctor.

That profit ad-
uaunceth all
faculties.

Honos alit
Artes.

That ſome
things are to
be allured by
rewardes and
ſome other
with ſtraight
paynes forced
in a common-
Weale

Therefore the more neceſſary that come is, the more bee
the men to be cheariſhed that reareth it: for if they ſee there
bee not ſo much profit in uſing the plough, as they ſee in o-
ther ſeates: thinke ye not that they will leaue that trade and
fall to another y they ſee more profitable: As yee may per-
ceive by the doings of this honeſt mans neighbours, which
have turned their erable land to paſture, becauſe they ſee
more profit by paſture: then by tillage. Is it not an old ſay-
ing in Latin, Honos alit artes: that is, to ſay profit or ad-
uauncement nouritheth every facultie, wherby ſaying is ſo
true that it is allowed by the common iudgement of al mē.
Wee muſt vnderſtand alſo that all thinges that ſhould bee
done in a common Weale, bee not to be forced or to be con-
ſtrayned by the ſtraight penalties of the lawe, but ſome ſo,
and ſome either by aluement and rewardes rather. For
what lawe can compell men to bee induſtrious in trayayle
or labour of body, or ſtudious to learne any ſcience or know-
ledge of the mind: to theſe thinges they may be well pro-
uoked, encouraged, and allured: if they that be induſtrious
and painefull, bee rewarded well for their paines: and bee
ſuffered to take gaynes and wealth as rewardes of their
laboures, and ſo likewiſe they that be learned bee aduanc-
ed and honoured according to their forwardnes in Leat-
ning: every man will then ſtudy either to bee induſtrious
in bodely labour, or ſtudious in thinges that pertaines to
knowledge. Take theſe rewardes from them, & go about to
compell the by lawes thereto, what mā wil plough or digg y
ground or exerciſe any manuall arte wherein is any paine:
or who will adventure ouer ſeas for any Marchaūdiſe, or
uſe any facultie wherein any perill or dainger ſhould be, ſee-
ing his reward ſhal be no more then his y ſits ſtill: but yee
will perceaſe aſſwure me y all their reward ſhal not be taken
away, but part of it. Yet then yee muſt graunt me y as if al
theſe rewardes were taken fro the, all theſe faculties muſt
decaie,

decate, so if part of that reward be minished, the vse of these faculties shall minish withall after the rate, and so they shal be the lesse occupied, the lesse they be rewarded & esteemed. But now to our purpose: I thinke it more necessary to devise a meane how husbandry may be more occupied rather then lesse: which I cannot perceiue howe it may be brought to passe, but as men do see the more gaires therein the gladder they will occupie that seate, and this is to be true (that some things in a common weale must be forced with paines and some by rewards assured) may appeare, by þ which the wise and polittique senatour Tully wytteth: saying, that it was the wordes of Solon which was one of the seuen wise men of Greece, and of those seuen the onely man that made lawes, that a common weale was holden up by two things, chiefly that is by reward and payne: of which words, I gather, that men should be prouoked to do good deedes by rewardes and preferments: and to abstaine from ill doinges by paines, trowe you if husband men be not better chearyshed or prouoked then they be, to exercise the plough, but þ in procelle of time so many ploughes will be layd downe as I feare me there be all ready that of one usufruitefull yeare shall happen amonge vs, as commonly both once in seuen yeares: we should the not only haue dearth but also scarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to sicke it from outward parties and pay deare for it.

Howe would yee haue them better chearished to vse the plough.

To let them haue more profit by it the they haue, & liberty to sell it at all times & to all places as freely as men may do other things; but the (no doubt) the price of corne would rise specially at þ first more then at length: yet þ price would prouoke euery man to set þ plough in the ground, to till waste grounds: yea & to turne the lands þ is now enclosed for pasture to erable, for euery man will the gladder follow

The lesse honor or profit is geuen to any arte the lesse it shalbe frequented.

Tulli in Ep. ad atti.

Knight.

Doctor.

A brieft Conceipte

that wherein they see the more games, and thereby muste needes ensue both greater plenty of corne within the realme and also much treasure should be brought into the realme by reason thereof. And besides that plenty of all other victuall encreased amonge vs.

**Knight.
Doctor.**

Profit vwill
make hushad.
men more oc-
cupied & there-
by more profit
and consequēt
ly better
cheape of
corne.

That would I faine heare you declare howe :

Ye haue heard that by this free vent and sale of corne, the husbandmans profit is aduanced, then it is shewed that every man naturally will follow that, wherein hee sees profit insue: therefore men wil the gladder occupie husbandry, & the more doe occupie husbandry, the more plenty of Corne must needes be: And the more plenty of corne there is, there of the better cheape: And also the more will be spared ouer y^e which shall suffice for the realme. And then that may bee spared in a good yeare, shall bringe vs againe ether corne: or els the commodities of other countries necessary for vs. Then the more husbandry there is occupied, the more victuall breede should be of all victualls of Meate, Sheepe, Swine, Geese, Hennes, Capons, & Chickens: for al these are reared much on corne.

Knight.

If men shoulde sell when a good seasonable yeare is, all that is ouerplus: when the Realme is serued what shoulde wee doe if a barren yeare shoulde happen, when no store of corne is lefte of the good yeare before.

Doctor.

If y^est ye muste consider that men will be sure they wyl keepe moughe to finde themselves within the realme, ere they sell any forth of the same and hauing libertie to sell at their pleasure, doubt ye not, but they had leuer sell their corne two pence or thre pence in a bushell better cheape within the realme, then to bee at the charge of cariage, and perill of aduenture: in sending it ouer and sell it dearer: excepte it be for much more gaines. And thus men being prouoked to laker, wil keepe the more corne, looking for a deare yeare in the countrey, whereby must needes be great stores
and

and though they did not so, but should sell ouer sea all that they might spare ouerthat serues the realme, when the yere is plentifull, yet by reason that throughte the meanes aforesaid moe ploughes are set a worke, then would suffice the Realme in a plentifull yere: if a scarce yere should fall after, the corne of so many ploughes as in a good yere, would be more then enough in an vnfruitfull yere, at the leaste would be sufficient to feede the Realme, & so should the realme be serued withincough of corn in a scarce yere, & in a plentifull yere, no more then enough: which might be sold ouer for great treasure, or greater commodities: where now in a plentifull yere we seeke to haue but as much as may suffice the realme. Then if a scarce yere should happen, we must needes lacke of our owne to serue and should bee driven to buy from beyond the sea, and then if they were as enuious as wee bee: might not they say: when we requyred any corne of them, (that seing they could get none from vs when we had plenty.) why should they let vs haue any corne when wee haue scarcitie? Surely common reason would that one region should helpe another when it lacks, and therefore God hath ordeyned that no countrey should haue all commodities, but which that one lacks another brings forth: & that by one countrey lacketh this yere, another hath plenty thereof commonly the same yere, to the intente men may knowe that they haue neede one of anothers helpe, & thereby loue and societie to growe amonge all men the more, but here we would do as though we had neede of no other countrey on earth, but to liue all of our selues: & as though we myghte make the market of all thinges as wee lust our selues, for though God is bountifull vnto vs & sendes vs many great commodities, yet wee coulde not liue wythoute the commodities of others. And for example, if Iron and Salte throughte wee haue competently thereof, yet wee haue not the

A brieve Conceipte

not the thirde parte to suffice the Realme, and that can
in no wise be spared if yee will occupy husbandry, then tar,
rozyn, pitch, Oyle, and Steele, wee haue none at all: and for
Wynes, spyces, linnen cloth, silkes, & colourres, though we
might line indifferently without the, yet far fro any ciuili-
ty should it be: as I deny not but many things wee might
haue heere sufficiently that we buy now from beyond sea,
and many things we might spare wholly: whereof if time
will serue I shall talke more here-after: But nowe to re-
turne to the first pointe I spake of before, to bee one of the
meanes to bring husbandry by, that is by basing y estimation
tion of wooll, & felles. Though I take not that way to bee
as good as the other, for I doe not allowe that meane that
may bale any of our commodities, except it bee for the in-
haunsing of a better commodity: but if both commodities may
bee inhaunsed together, as by the last deuise I thinke they
might be, I allowe that way better, neuer-thelesse where as
you (brother Petter) shewed afore, that either by restrain-
ing of wooll and other commodities, till they were equall
within the Realme after the rate of the coine: or by inhaun-
sing the custome of wooll and other the sayd commodities,
till the price beside the custome of the sayd commodities were
brought like to the coine in proportion: y^e Queenes custome
shoulde bee diminished, I thinke not so, for the one way, as
much as she shoulde haue for y^e more wooll at litle custome
ventred ouer, so much shoulde we haue for the lesse wooll at
a greater custome ventred. And the other way as much as
her Grace shoulde lose by her custome of wooll, so much or
more shoulde her grace winne by y^e custome of Clothes made
within the realme. But one thing I doe note by this latter
deuise, that if they shoulde take place we must doe, that is if
wee keepe within vs much of our commodities, wee must
spare many other thinges that we haue now from beyonde
sea, for wee must alwayes take heede that wee buy no more
of strainge

Whether the
Que. custome
should be di-
minished by
straint of yoll
vntvrought,

of straungers then we do sell them, for so we should impoverish our selues and enriche them. For hee were no good husband that had no other yerely reuenues but of his husbandry to liue on, that would buy more in the market then he seiles againe. And that is a pointe that wee might saue much by our treasure in this realme, if wee would. And I maruell no man takes heede to it, what number first of trifles comes hether from beyond the sea, that we mighte either cleane spare or els make them within our realme, for the which we either pay inestimable treasure euery yeare, or els exchaunge substantiall wares and necessarie for the for which we might receiue great treasure. Of the which sorte I meane aswell looking glasses, as drinking, and also to glasse Windows, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles Puppettes, Penmers, Inkehornes, Tothepickes, Gloues, Knives, Dagges, Ditches, Brooches, Aglettes, Buttons of silke & silver, Earthen pots, Pimes, & Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thousand like thinges that might either be cleane spared, or els made within the realme sufficient for vs, and as for some thinges they make it of our owne commodities and sende it vs againe, whereby they set their people a worke, and doe exhauste much treasure out of this Realme: as of our woll they make clothes, Cappes and Kerseies of our selles they make spanish skimes, Gloues and Girdels, of our Tyme Saltcellers, Spones and Dishes, of our broken Linnen clothes and ragges, Paper both white and browne, what Treasure thinke yee goes out of this Realme for euery of these thinges: and then for all together it exceedes myne estimation. There is no man can be contented now with any other Gloues then is made in Fraunce or in Spayne: nor Kerseie but it muste be of Flaunders die: nor cloth but French or Fypleadowe: nor Durche, Brooch, or Agglet but of Venice making, or Pillen: nor Dagger, Swearde

Houue straungers fetch from vs our great for very trifles.

Our delicacy in requiring straungers Wares.

A brieft Conceipte

The encrease
of haberdash-
ers & mileners
ouer they were
vount to be.

How the straun-
gers finde an
easy way to
get treasure by
thinges of no
value then by
any mynes of
gold or siluer.

How straun-
gers finde their
nation vwith
our commodi-
ties and on
our costes.

Knife of Gyrdle but of Spanish making; or some outward
countrey, no not as much as a Spurre but that is fetched
at the Millener. I haue heard within these xl. yeares when
there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or
Millen Cappes, Glasses, Knives, Daggers, Swordes,
Gyrdels and such thinges, not a dosen in all London: & now
from the towne to Westminster alonge, euery streete is
full of them, and their shoppes glitter and shynes of glas-
ses as well bynking as loking, yea all maner of vessel of
the same stuffe: paynted cruses, gaie Daggers, Knives,
Swordes, and Gyrdels that it is able to make any tēperate
man to gaze on them and to buy somwhat, though it serue
to no purpose necessarie. What neede them beyonde sea to
trauaile to Perowe or such farre countreies, or to trye oute
the landes of the riuers of Tagus in Spaine, Pactogus in
Asia, and Ganges in India, to get amonge them after much
labour small sparkes of gold, or to digge the deepe bowels
of the earth for the mine of Siluer or Golde, when they ca-
of vile clate not farre sought for: and of ppyple Stones and
Ferne rootes, make good Golde and Siluer, more then a
greate many of Siluer and Golde mines would make, I
thinke not so litle as a hundreth thousand poundes a yeare
is fetched of our Treasure, for thinges of no valure of them-
selues, but only for the labours of the workers of the same,
which are set a worke all on our charges: what grolenes of
wits be we of, that see it, and suffer such a continual spoile
to be made of our good and treasure by such meanes and
specially that will suffer our owne commoditties to go and
let straungers a worke, & then to buy them againe at theyr
handes, as of our Wooll they make and die Kerlies, French-
adawes, broad clothe, and Cappes beyonde sea & bynge
them hether to be solde againe: wherein I pray you note
what they doe: they make vs pay at the ende for our owne
stuffe a yaine. Yea, for þe straungers custome for their worke-
manship

manship, and colours, and lastely for the seconde custome in the retourne of the wares into the realme again: where as by working the same within the realme, our owne men should be set a worke at the charges of straungers, the custome should be borne all by straungers to the Queene, & the cleare gaines remaine within the Realme.

If yee ponder such thinges and other, which goeth ouer Sea yereily from vs for the same, yee speake to litle by as much againe, but one thinge I haue marked that albeit it is true, that the ough straungers buy their woll deare & pay twice custome, that is both at going oute of the woll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes, yet the same shalbe better cheape then that which is made within þ Realme, whereof that should come, I would faine knowe.

Knight.

Whether it come of our sloth, or of our chargeable fare or of our idleness, which we Englishmen vse, percase more then other nations, I knowe not: yet it were better for vs to paie more to our owne Countrey men for these wares, then to straungers lesse, for how litle gaines so euer goeth ouer, it is lost to vs cleare, but how much so euer þ gaines is that goeth from one of vs to another, it is all saued with in the Realme: and a like reason as you make now here. Once a Booke Seller made mee when I asked him why, we had not white and browne paper made within þ realme aswell as they had made beyond the sea: Then he answered mee y there was paper made a while within þ realme. At the last the man perceiued that made it that he could not for the his paper as good cheape as it came from beyond þ sea, and so he was forced to lay downe making of paper and no blame in the man, for men will geue neuer the more for his paper because it was made here: but I would eyther haue the paper staied from coming in, or so burdened with custome: that by that time it came hether, our men mighte asoide their paper better cheape, then straungers might do

Doctor.

Why straungers may asorde vs ares better cheape made by them then we may the same made here, & yet that it were better for vs to buy our ovvne though they were dearer.

A brieft Conceipte.

theires, the customes considered.

Knight.

There ye speake a thinge that the Queenes Attourney would not agree vnto, for if such ware were made within the realme, the the Queenes custome should be lesse by reason that litle or no such wares should come from beyond the Sea.

Doctor,

If the Queenes Attourney did regard, as well the profite that should come after: as that which is present afoze h eyes, hee would agree to this well inough, for by this meanes inestimable treasure should be saued within h realme, and then it could not growe to the profit of the subiects, but it must needes growe also to the profite of the Queene, for the wealth of the subiectes, is the profit of the Queene: and in mine opinion they doe not beste prouide for her Graces profite, that procureth onely a presente commoditie: but rather that comodity that may longest endure without grieve of her subiects.

The most durable & vsuall profit is more to be esteemed then short and particular.

Knight.

You would haue a lawe made, that no such ware should be brought from beyond the sea, to be sold heere, of such things as could be made heere, as wel as there.

Doctor,

Yea forsooth, so would I wishe.

Knight.

I was once in a Parlyament, when such a thinge was mooued, but onely for Cappes, that none made beyond sea should bee sold heere within the Realme, and then it was answered by a great wise man, that it was to bee feared least it touched the league made betwene h Princes highnesse, & some forraigne Prince: what thinke you the would haue bene said, if yee would haue moued a lawe to be made of our wooll, our Tynne, our Lead, and Hydes, beyond sea, should haue bene sold heere.

Whether our restraints doe touch the leagues made with other Prynces.

Doctor.

I cannot tell whether that should touch the league or no, nor whether any such league be: but I say to you h I think it a maruailous league that should let vs to make lawes to binde our owne subiects that might be profitable to the: and if

and if their were any such league I had leauer it were broken then kept, which being broken shoulde doe vs good, & being kept shoulde doe vs harime, and I suppose that when wee enter any league the same is ment to be for our weale, and not for our hinder aunce, wherefore that league would not be esteemed y^e might hinder our commonweale.

No league is to be cherished that is not for the commonweale.

What if they would make a like lawe beyonde the sea, that wares made with in this realme shoulde not bee sould there, as they made of late, when wee deuised a lawe that no Wynes shoulde bee caried heather in straungers bot-tomes.

Knight.

Yet should they be enforced rather to dissolve their law then we ours, for our stufte is necessary for them y^e is made here: as cloth, Leather, Biere, tallow, butter, cheese, pew-ter vessell &c. Theirs be to vs more to serue pleasure then necessity: as Tables, Cardes, perfumed Gloues, Glasses, gally Pots, Dyalls, Ornges, Pippens, and Cherries: yea their chiefe commodities might be better spared of vs, the retayned of them, as wyne, silkes, spices, yron, and Salt. I would to God wee would followe but the example of a poore Hauen towne y^e I heard of it to do of late: heere in y^e Marches of Wales, called Carmarthen, when there came a certayne Vessel thether out of England all Laden with Appells, which aforesetime was wont to bynge them good corne, the towne commaunded that none shoulde buy the sayd Appells vpon a great payne, and so the Vot stood so long in the Hauen without sale or vent till y^e Appells were putrified and lost. And when the owner demaunded of the Bayliffe of the towne, why he had stayed his sale and vent, the Bayliffe answered againe, that the sayd vessel came thether to fetch the best wares they had in the countrey, as Fryzes, brode Clothes, & wooll: and in steepe thereof, hee should leaue the in their countrey but appells, that should be spent & wasted in lesse then a weeke. And sayd byng vnto

Doctor.

A worthy example to be folloved in vsing of straungers.

A brieue Conceipte

hs coyne or malte as yee were wont to doe, whereof þ country hath neede, and yee shall be welcome at all times, & yee shall haue free vent and sale thereof in our Port: thinke yee that the cities of London, Southhampton, Bristowe, Chester and other moe, might they not learne a good lesson of this pooze Welch towne in this doing? Might not they say when shippes full of Orenge, Pippens, or Cherries come in, that if they would agayne take Plummes, Damozins, and Strawberries for them, they shoulde haue free exchange: and when they bring in Glasses, Supplets, Rattles, and such like thinges, they shoulde haue like trifles for them, if any such were to bee had within this Realme, as there bee many, but if they come for our Woolles, for our Clothes, Kerseyes, Coyne, Linne, Ledde, yea our Golde, and siluer, and such substantiall and necessary thinges: let them bring in againe, flaxe, Tarre, Oyles, fyre, & such like. And not to vse them as men doe little Chilozen, geene them an appell for the best Jewell þ they haue about them. And thus wee are empouerished of our treasure, & chiefe commodity, and cannot perceaue it, such is the finenesse of straungers wits and the grosenes of ours, yet it were more tollerable if wee did no more but chear the their deuises þ be straungers: but we haue in times past deuised our selues many other wayes, to our owne impouerishment, and to exhaust our treasure. And now I must come to that thyng that you (brother Mercer) touched afoze, which I take to be the chiefe cause of all this dearth of thinges (in comparison of former times) and of the manifest impouerishinge of the Realme, and might in short time haue ben þ destruction of the same, if it had not bene þ rather remedied, that is, the basing or rather the corrupting of our coyne, & treasure, whereby we deuised a way for the straungers not only to buy our Gold and siluer for brasse, and to exhaust this realme of treasure: but also to buy our chiefe comodities
in ma-

Of the coyne
vwhat harme
might haue
groovne of the
alteration of it

in maner for nought, yet it was thought this should haue bene a meane not onely to bring our treasure home, but to bring much of theirs: but the experince playnely declared the contrary, so that it were but a very Dullerdes parte now to be in any doubt thereof.

Forsooth and such a Dullerd am I in deede, & I cannot perceauie what hinder aunce it should be to the realme to haue this mettall more then that (for our Coyne) seeing the Coyne is but a token to goe from man to man, & when it is stricken with the Princes seale to be currant: what maketh it the matter what mettall it be made of: yea, though it were but Leather, or Paper.

Knight.

You say but as most sorte of men doe say, and yet they be farre wide from the truth, as men that do not consider the thinge groundly: for by that reason God would neuer send dearth among vs, but the Prince might quickly remedy it. As if Coyne were at a Crowne a Bushell, the Prince might prouide Crownes ynough for himselfe and all his subiects made of brasse to pay for the same, and so to make it as easie for him and his subiects to pay a Crowne of such mettall for a bushell, as it should be for them now to pay a penny for the same: and as the price of coine both rise, the the Prince might rayse the estimation of his coine after the rate, and so keepe the coine alwayes at one estate in deede though in name it should seeme to rise. As for example, suppose Wheate this yeare to be at a grot a bushell, and the next yeare at two grotes, the Prince might cause the grote to be called viii.d. and if the bushell rose to xii.d. the bushell, he might rayse the estate of the grote to xii.d. and so whether it were by makinge of coine of other mettalles then he of price receaued amonge all men, or by enhaunsing the price of the olde coine made in mettalles of estimation, the Prince might if your reason were true, keepe alwayes not onely coine, but also all other victaylles and necessaries for mans

Doctor.

A brieſe Conceipte.

mans life, alwayes at one price in deede, though in terme they ſhould vary: but yee may ſee dayly by experience & contrary hereunto, for whē God ſendeth dearth either of corne or of other things, there is neither Emperoz nor King can help it, which they would gladly doe if they might, as wel for their owne eale, as for their ſubiects, and might ſoone doe it if your reaſon afore touched might take place: that is, if either they might make coine of what eſtimation they would, of vile mettalles: or els enhaunſe the value of coines made in mettalls of price, to what ſome they would. Yet a man at the firſt bluſh would thinke that a Prince in his realme might doe this eaſily, & make what coyne he would to be currant and of what eſtimation it pleaſed him, but he that ſo thinketh marketh but the termes, & not the thinges that are underſtanded by them, as if a man made no difference betwene vi. grotes that made an ounce of ſiluer, and xii. grotes that made in all but an ounce of ſiluer, by the grote of the firſte ſorte, the ſixth parte of an ounce, and by a grote of the other ſorte is the twelfth parte of an ounce of ſiluer underſtanded, and ſo there muſt bee as much difference betwene the one grote & the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thinge & the halfe: though either of both be called but under one name, that is a grote: we muſt conſider though gold & ſiluer be the mettals commonly where in the coyne is ſtrycken to bee the tokens for exchange of thinges betwene man and man: yet it is the wares that are neceſſary for mans uſe, that are exchanged in deede, under the outward name of the coyne, and it is the raritie & plenty of ſuch wares, that makes the price therof hier or baſer. And becauſe it were very combrous and chargeable to carry ſo much of the wares that we haue abundance of, to exchange for the wares that we want, alwayes both for the weight of our wares, and alſo for that they could not be carried ſo

The ſubſtaunce
and quantity is
eſteemed in
coyne & not
the name.

ned so farre without perishing of the same, nor proportioned so euen, as they should be alwayes, neither more or lesse brought of our wares, then were equiualeēt to other wares that we receiue, therefore were the mettals of golde and silver deuised, as wares of litle weight, most in value, & least combruous to carie: and least subiect to detriment or hurt in the cartiage thereof, and may be cut and deuided in most pieces and portions, without any losse, to be as the meane in wares to exchaunge all other wares by. And if the thynge were to be new deuised, necessity would cause vs to deuise the same way againe. For put the case there were no use of money amonge vs, but onely exchaunge of wares, for wares: as somtimes I do reade hath ben: we might at a time haue such plenty of thinges in our realme, as for example of corn, woolles, & felles, cheese, & Butter, and such other commodities as were sufficient for vs, and there shoulde remayne with vs such great store, that we could not spend it in our needes, nor keepe it longe without perishing. Alloude not we be glad to exchaunge that abundance of thinges, & could not abyde the longe keeping: for such wares that would abyde the keeping, which we might exchaunge agayne for such wares, as I rehearsed, or any other as necessary: when scarcitie of the same shoulde happen amonge vs: Wea hereby we would studie to haue in that exchaunge such wares as would go in least romth and continue longest without perishing, and be caried to and fro with least charge, & be most currant at all times: and at all places. Is not Golde & Silver, the thinges that be most of that sorte: I meane most of value, most light to be caried, longest able to abide the keeping: aptest to receiue any forme, marke, and most currant in all places: & most easilie deuided into many pieces without losse of the stuffe. In some of these poyntes I confesse precious Stones do excell silver or yet Golde, as in value or lightnesse of cartiage, but then, they may not bee deuided without

Aristo. lib. 5
Eth.

That the necessity of Mutuall traffique and commodity of exchanging made Coyne to be deuised.

Hōm F. de
emptions et
vendicatione.
ue. Li. 1.

Why Gold & silver were the stuffe most meete for coine to be stricken in.

A brieue Concepte

without perishing of the substance, nor put agayne together, after they be ones deuised, nor many of them abyde so many daungers without perishing of the matter, nor yet receiue any marke or stampe easily, nor be so vniuersally esteemed: therefore they be not so meete for Instrumentes of exchange, as Silver and Golde be, or els they for their pieces and lightnesse of carriage, might be. And because Golde and Silver haue all these commodities in them, they are chosen by common assent of all the world, that is knowne to be of any ciuility, to be instruments of exchange, to measure all things by, most apte to be either caried farre or kept in store, to receiue for thinges, whereof we haue abundance, and to purchase by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we haue most neede. As for example, if there were no coyne currant, but exchange of thinges as I sayd sometime there was: let this case, that a man had as much coine in one yere as he could not well spend in his house in foure yeares after, and perceiued that hee mighte not keepe it so longe, or till a deate or skarce yeare shoulde come, and if he did, much of it shoulde perish or all: were it not wisdom for him then to exchange the ouerplus of that coine, for some other ware that might be longer kept, without daunger of wast, or diminishing, for which he might at all times haue either coine againe at his neede, or some other necessarie thing: Deas no doubt, if there were no vse of Silver or Golde he would haue Tinne brasse, or leade or such other like thing that would abide the keeping with least detrimēt, and would desire to haue that thing most, that were in least weight, most in value, and in least daunger of wearing or perishing; & most vniuersally receiued, where in Golde and Silver excelles all other mettalles.

Knight. What makes these mettalles to bee of more value then other.

Doctor. No doubt their excellencie aboue other mettalles both in plea,

in pleasure, and use partly the raritie of them.

What be these qualities? If yee mayse the Golde for his weight or pliableness, Led doth exel it in these pointes if yee commend his colour, Siluer by many mens Iudgements (whose colour resembleth $\frac{1}{2}$ day light for his clerenesse) passeth him. And Perroldees preferres it in armes: because it is furthest offeene in $\frac{1}{2}$ fildc, nor neuer seemes other colour but his owne, be it neuer so farre of: where al other shall seeme blacke farre of, and so loose the strengthe of their owne.

Knight.

As much as the Led approacheth the Gold in that pointe I speake of treight and pliableness, it is cast behinde it in other qualitties farre more commendable, as in colour, it either passeth Siluer by some other mens Iudgements, because it resembles the colour of the celestiaall bodies, as the Sunne and Starres being the most excellent thinges that cometh under the vield of the bodelie senses of man, or it is equivalet to sein armes. I know not how much it is esteemed, I knowe I have seen blake their armes most with that colour, whether it bee for excellency of the same, or for that they loue the mettall it is made of so wel, I cannot tell: but now to esteeme they other qualitties, Golde is neuer wasted nor consumed by fire, yea the more it is burned, the more puerer it is: which ye can say of none other mettalles. Then it weares not lesse by occupying, it defileth not the thing it toucheth, as Siluer doth, with which ye may draw lynes, which is a declaration that the stuffe falleth away, albeit wyrters do marvel that it should draw so blacke a line being of that brightnes and colour it self. Then there is no rust nor sturfe $\frac{1}{2}$ diminisheth the goodnes or wasteth $\frac{1}{2}$ substance of Gold: it abides $\frac{1}{2}$ freating, and licours of Salt & Vinegar without damage, which weareth any other thing: it needes no fier, ere it be made Gold as others require, it is Golde as soone as it is founde, it is drawn without wold,

Doctor.

Why Golde, & Syluer are esteemed afore all ther mettalls.

A brieft Conceipte

as it were Tull, it is easily spred in leaues of marvellous
thinnes: ye may adorne or guild any other mettals with it,
yea Stones and Tymber: it is also nothings inferiour in
commodity of makynge vessels or other instrumentes to sil-
uer, but rather purer, cleaner, and more sweete to keepe a-
ny liquor in. Next him approacheth Silver in commendati-
ons, as in cleannes, beauty, sweetenes, and brightnes. And it
serues not onely to make vessels and other instrumentes, but
it is also spomie, but not without Tull, as Gold may bee,
though they could not doe it afore time, but with Gold one-
ly, as I haue heard, church Vestures were made onely of
Gold then, and now of late of this Silver being spou with
silke and guilt, they counterfeite the olde excellence of clothe
of Golde and tyllue. Now to speake of other mettals, pee
see what vles they serue for, whych if these were away
should bee more esteemed. Then I coulde pou the raritie
commendes the same mettals of Gold and Silver, yet more
thi this. For as they do excell in qualities, so Dame nature
seemes to haue laied them by in a further warde, then her
other giftes, to shew vs that all fayre things be rare, and fi
the fayrest things as they be hardest to be attayned, so they
be most to be esteemed. If a Glasse (as Erasmus sayth wel)
were as rare as silver, it should be as deare as silver, and
not without cause: who coulde glasse a Window with silver
so as he might keepe out the injury of the weather and yet
neuerthelesse receiue the commodity of the light through
the same to his house, as with glasse he might: And so I might
commend other things for theyr vles afore Gold or Silver,
as Iron & Steele, with whom pee may make better spoles
for many necessary vles, then with Gold or Silver, but for
the vles that we talke of, Silver and Golde do clearly ex-
cell all other mettals. I passe ouer that matter: thus I haue
shewed some reason, why these mettals of Gold & Silver
are growen in estimation aboue other.

Why doe Kinges and Princes strike these mettalles and other with a coyne, but because they would haue that coyne of what value so euer it be, to beare the estate that the coine pretteth, which they did in vaine if they could make the mettall that beares that, to be neither better nor worse in estimation. The I had as lief haue small gawds or plate of Siluer and Gold without any coyne at al, to go abroad from man to man for exchange.

Knight.

Why Gold & Syluer were coyned.

Why Gold & Syluer were coyned.

Doctor.

Surely the time was so (euen among the Romaynes, when neither brasse, siluer, nor golde was coyned) but were esteemed onely by the weight. And thereof to this day remaineth these vncables of coynes, as Libra, Pondo, Denarius, as Solidus, Denarius, mores of weightes that afterward were geue to coynes pretending the same weightes. Also the common officers that waighed these rude mettals were called Libri pendes, whereof we haue micion made in the little lawe: but because in great traffique & assembly of buyers, & such, it was tedious to cary for the weighing of these mettalles and tryng, it was thought good that the Princes should strike those mettals with seueral markes, for the variety of the weightes they were of, to assure the Receiver, the same to be no lesse then the weight it pretended. As for playner example, they strike the pound weight with the marke of the pound, and the ounce with the marke of the ounce, and so after the variety of the weightes of other pieces variable markes: whereby began the names of Coynes, so that the people needed not to be troubled with the weighing and tryng of euery piece, being assured by the marke of the Prince, that euery piece contained the weight that was signified by the marke set ouer it: and on the Princes creite was then such amonge their subjects as they doubted nothing therein. As soone as they attempted to doe otherwise, that is, to marke the halfe pound with the marke of the pound, & the halfe ounce with the marke of the ounce.

Plini lib. 33
Cap. 3.

Sometime
brasse, siluer &
Golde were
weighed be-
fore Coynes
made.

Inst. de test.
ord. 5. 1.

A while their credite made those coines curreant. As I read
 among the Romaynes practized more then once, but as soone
 as it was espied, the two pieces of halfe poulds went no far-
 ther then for one piece of a whole pound went before. And at
 length, as much as they woude at the first, they lost at the
 last in payment of their rentes, customes, and duties. (And
 to the better East, the further from West.) And they co-
 sequently lost their credite, much like us. I have knowne
 certain towne in England to haue done which were wonte
 to make their clothes of a certayne bredth and length, and
 to set both scales to the same, while they kept the rate tru-
 ly. Strangers did but looke on the scale, and receaue their
 ware, wherby these towne had great bent of their clothes,
 and consequently prospered very well. Afterward some in
 those towne not contented with reasonable gaynes conti-
 nuall, and desiring more, Devised clothes of lesse length,
 bredth, and goodnesse then they were wont to be, and yet
 by the commendation of the scale to haue as much money
 for the same as they had before for good clothes, and for a
 time they gat much, and so abused the credite of their Pre-
 decessors to their singular lucre, which was recompensed
 with the losse of their Posterity. For after these Clothes
 were founde faulty for all their scales, they were not one-
 ly neuer the better trusted, but much lesse for their scales
 yea, though their clothes were well made, for when their
 vnt ruth and falshood was espied, then no man would buy
 their clothes, till they were ensearched and vnfolded, re-
 garding nothing the scale: and yet because they founde the
 vnt ruth in some parte, they mistrusted them in other, and
 so would geue lesse for those clothes then for any other like
 having no scales to the same, wherby the credite of the
 said towne was lost, and the towne utterly decayed. Did
 yet not see, that our Coyne was discredited immediately
 upon the alteration of it, in the late yeares of King Hen-
 ry the

ry the eight; specially among straungers, which ever be-
fore desired to serue vs afore all other Nations, at all our
needes, for þ goodnes of our Coyne. And then they would
let vs haue nothing from them, but onely for our commo-
dities, as Wooll, Felles, Tallow, Butter, Cheese, Tins,
and Ledde, & where before time, they were wont to bring
vs for the same, either good Golde or siluer, or els as ne-
cessary commodities agayne, then they sent vs rather such
trifles as I spake of before: as Glasses, gally pots, pen-
nice Balles, Papers, Gyndles, Blanches, Buttons, Dy-
alls, and such light ware, that standeth them in no charge
or vse, or els (if it be true that I haue heard) and as I tolde
you in your eare before, they sent vs Spasse for our Treas-
ure of Golde and siluer, and for our sayd commodities; I
warrant you yee sawe no Golde nor siluer thought ouer
vnto vs, as it was before vsed, & no man sayeth what pur-
pose should they bring siluer or Golde thither, where as þ
same was not esteemed: Therefore I haue heard say for a
truth, and I beleue to be rather to be true because it is
likely, that after that our Coyne was baled and altered
Straungers counterfayted our Coyne, & founde þ mistakes
to haue great Passes of that transported herbers, and here
bettered it wel for our olde Golde and siluer, as also for our
chiefe commodities, which things I repute more vnto þou
what inconuenience it might bring vnto this Realme, this
were suffered, in a small compasse of tyme.

There be Searchers that might let that matter well
ynough if they be true, both for staying of such false Coyne
to come in, and of our olde Coyne to goe forth.

I sayd so to the man that tolde mee the same tale that I
tolde you enen now. And he answered me, there were ma-
ny wayes to deceaue the Searchers, if they were neuer so
true, as by putting of the sayde Coyne in their shippes ba-
last or in some vesselles of wyne or other Lyquor transpor-

ted ey-

What doe the
gers send vs
for our Treas-
ure & chiefe
commodities.

Doctor.
What doe the
gers send vs
for our Treas-
ure & chiefe
commodities.

Doctor.

Doctor.

Doctor.

Doctor.

Doctor.

Doctor.

Doctor.

Doctor.

Doctor.

Doctor.

Doctor.

A brieue Conceipte

We deuise the
rediest way to
driue avway
our Treasure.

for either into vs or from vs: then euery Creake in this Realme hath not searchers: And if they had, they bee not such saintes as woulde not bee corrupted for money. Besides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde coyne, specially of Golde, should not be currant here aboue such a price: was not that the rediest way to dypue a way out golde from vs: & euery thing will goe where it is most esteemed; and therefore our treasure went ouer in heapes.

Knight,

I beleue well that these were meanes to exhaust & olde treasure from vs, which yee haue reiected: but how it should make euery thing so deare among our selues since y tyme (as yee sayd it doth) I cannot yet perceiue the reason.

Doctor.

Why: doe yee not perceiue that by reason hereof, wee payed dearer presently for euery thing that we haue from beyonde the Sea; then wee were wont to doe before?

Knight.

That cannot be denied.

Doctor.

By howe much thinke you?

Knight.

By the thirde parte well in all maner of thinges.

Doctor.

Must not they that buy deare, sell deare agayne they wares?

Knight.

That is true, if they intend to thine: for he that selleth good cheape & buyeth deare, shall neuer thine.

Doctor.

Yee haue your selfe declared the reason, why thinges in the Realme proued after that time so deare: for we must buy deare all thinges bought from beyond the Sea: & therefore wee must sell agayne as deare our thinges, or els wee make ill bargaynes for our selues. And though that reason maketh it plaine, yet the experience of y thing maketh it playner: for where yee say that euery thinge bought beyond the Sea, is commonly dearer by the thirde parte then it was: doe yee not see y same proportion reised in our wares, if it be not more?

Why thinges
within the
realme should
be so deare.

Knight.

What losse haue wee by this, when wee sell our commodities as deare as we buy others?

I graunt

I graunte to one sorte of men, I accompt it no losse, yea to some other a Gainne more then any losse, and yet to some other sorte a greater losse the it is profit to y other, yea generally to the bitter empouering of the realme and weaking of the Queenes maiesties power exceedingly.

Doctor.

I pray you what be those sortes that ye meane. And first of those that ye thinke should haue no losse hereby.

Knight.

I meane all these that liues by buying and selling for as they buy deare they sell thereafter.

Doctor.

What is the next sorte that ye say would win by it?

Knight.

Many all such as haue takings or ffearmes in their owne manurance at the olde rent, for where they pay after the olde rate, they sell after the newe: that is, they pay for theyr lande good cheape, and sell all things growing therof deare.

Doctor.

Some had
gaynes by the
alteration of
the coyn.

What sorte is that which yee sayde should haue greater losse hereby, then these men had profit.

Knight.

It is all Noble men, Gentlemen and all other that lyue either by a stented rent or stypend, or doe not ppanure the ground, or doe occupy no buying or selling.

Doctor.

I pray you peruse these sortes as ye did the other, one by one, and by course.

Knight.

I will gladly, first the Noble men and Gentlemen liue for the most parte on the yerely reuenues of their lands and fees geuen them of the Prince. Then ye know he that may spende now by such reuenues and fees CC.li. a yere may not keepe no better port then his father, or any other before him, that coulde spend but nigh CC.li. and so ye may perceive, it is a great abatement of a mans countenance to take away the thirde parte of his liuing, and therefore gentlemen do stand so much the increase of theyr Landes and enhaunsing of theire rentes, and to take ffearmes and Pastures to their owne handes as yee see they doe, and all to seeke to mainteine their countenances as their predecessors

Doctor.

Who had losse
by the altera-
tion of coyn.

A brieft Conceipte

lovs die, and yet they came thort there in. Some other seeing the charges of householde encrease so much, as by no prouision they can make, it can be holpen: geue ouer theyr householdes and get them chambers in London or aboute the courte, and there spende their time some of them with a seruaunt or two, where he was wont to keepe thirty or forty persons daily in his house, and to doe good in the Countrey, in keeping good order and rule among his neighbors. The other sorte be euen Seruingmen, and men of Warre that hauing but their olde stented wages, cannot finde themselves therewith: as they might afore time, without rauin or spoile. As ye know xii. d. a day now will not go so far as viii. pence would afore time. And there fore yee haue men so euill willing to serue the Prince now a daies, from þ they were wont to bee. Also where xl. shillinges a yere was honest wages for a yeoman afore this time, and xx. pence a weeke boorde wages was sufficient: now double as much will skante beare their charge.

Knight.

That is longe of theyr excelle, aswell in apparell as in fare, for now a dayes Seruingmen go more costely in apparell, and looke to fare more deintely, then their maisters were wont to do in times past:

Doctor.
Of excelle in
apparell and
fare,

No doubt that is one great cause of the greater charge of householde. For I know when a Seruing man was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer, and a frise cote in winter: and with a plaine white hose made meete for his body: And with a piete of biese or some other dishe of sodde meate all the weeke longe: Now he will looke to haue at the least for sommer a coate of the finest cloch that may bee gotten for money, and his Hosen of the finest Kersey, and that of some straunge die, as Flaunders die or french puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer, if he weare cloth. Then their coates shalbe garded cut and stitched and the breeches of their hose so drawn with silke, that þ workmanship

manthip shall farre passe the price of the stufte, And this thing is not restrained as it should be, but rather cherished of the maisters, one struing with the other, who may bee most proude and whose retinue may go most lauish & gay for a time of shewe, whereas through such exccesse they are sayne all the rest of the yere to keepe the fewer seruantes. And so in exccesse of meates they fare at some times in the yere, that in the whole yere after they keepe either no houses at all, or if they do it shall be very small: like exccelles as well in apparell as in fare were vsed in Rome a litle before the declination of the Emppre, so as wise men haue thought it was occasion of the decay thereof. And therefore Cato and diuerse wise senatours at that time, would haue had lawes made for restrainte of such exccelles, and for that through the insolencie of some, that maintained the contrary, & same were not duly executed, much pride ensued there: and of pride diuision: and through diuision vtter desolation of the comon weale. I pray God this realme may beware by that example: specially London the head of this empire, where such exccelles (by reaso the wealth al most of al this Realme is heaped there by, as the corne of a fild into a barne) be most vsed: for in other parties commonly of this realme, the lawe of necessitie keepes men in good case for exceeding either in apparel or fare. I thinke wee were as much dead or more of our enemies, when our gentlemen went simply, and our Seruingmen plainly, without cuts or gards bearing theyr heauy Swordes and Buckelers on their thighes in stede of cuts and gards and light daunsing Swordes: and when they rode carying good Speares in their hands in stede of white rods, which they cary now more like ladies or gentlewomen, then men, all which delicacies maketh our men cleane effeminate & without strength.

We may thanke our longe peace & quiet within this realme that men be not forced to ride so strong. It was a troblous

Knights

All.

world

A brieſe Conceipte

world as well within the Realme as without, when men went and rode as you do ſpeake.

Doctor.

In Peace loke
for Waire.

What can you tell, what time or how ſone ſuch a worlde may come againe, wiſe men do ſay, that in peace men moſt looke and provide for warre, and in warre againe for peace. If men might be alwaies ſure of peace, then needed no man to keepe men at all. But ſith it is otherwiſe, and that the iniquitie of men is ſuch, as they cannot bee longe wythoute Warre: And that wee reckon here in Englande our chiefe ſtrength to be in our Servingmen & yeomen, it were wiſedome to exerciſe them in tyme of peace ſomewhat with ſuch apparell, ſare and hardenes, as they muſt needes ſuſtaine in tyme of warre, then the ſame ſhal be no novelty to them when they come to it: and their bodies ſhall be ſtronger and harder to beare that, that they were ſomewhat accuſtomed withall afore. Let this that I ſay, be of no credite: if delicacie and tendernes was not the moſt occaſion of the ſubduing of the greateſt Empires that were.

Knight.

Surely ye ſay very well & that which ſoundeth to good reaſon. I muſt needes allowe that I have found true, my ſelf, for my men are ſo tenderly uſed in tyme of peace, that they can not away with any heavy armour in tyme of warre, but either ſhirts of Waile or Coates of linnen ragges, which at a ſhotte may perhaps deceiue vs. Then what ſaye you by our buildinges that wee haue here in Englande of late dayes, farre more exceſſive then at any time heretofore. Doth not that impouerish the Realme & cauſe men to keepe leſſe Houſes.

Doctor.

I ſay that all theſe thinges be tokens of ornamentes of peace: and that no doubt is cauſe of leſſe houſholdes: ſith the buildinges and trimming of thoſe houſes ſpendes away that, that ſhould be otherwiſe ſpent in houſhold. But it doth not empouerish the Realme at all, for all the expences of buildinges, for the moſt part is ſpent amonges our ſelues & amonges

amonges our neighbours and Countrey-men, As amonges Carpenters, Balsons, and Labourers, except men will fall to guilding or painting of these Houses. For in that much treasure may be spent, and to no use. Also the Arses, Clerderers, and Capistry workes wherewith they bee hanged commonly, cometieth ouer into Flaunders & other straunge Countreyes (where they be had from) much of our Treasure.

Of excesse in
Buyldings.

Syr, yet I must remember you of one thing more, which men do suppose to be a great occasion of the spending of þ treasure abroade: & it is, where there is comen to þ crowne of late yeares much lands by reason of Monasteries, colleges, and Chauntries dissolued, which men suppose hath be the cause two maner of waies, that there is lesse treasure a broade in the Realme. One is because the reuenues of the sayd places dissolued heretofore, were spent in the countrey and went from hand to hande there, for vittaille cloth and other thinges: and now are gone to one place out of the countrey. Another is that diuers men which had any ryches or wealth uttered the same, to buy per selles of the said dissolued lands lying commodious for them, whereby one way & other the whole riches of the countrey is swept away.

Knight.

Truth it is also, that it wynged the countrey abroade for the time, and had kept it so still if the Kinges Maiesty had not disperfed the same lands abroad among the in the countrey againe, but after þ his highnes departed with a great deale of those possessions, part by gift and part by sale: treasure hath and will encrease againe abroad, as much as euer it was, if it be not letted by other meanes: so that I take þ to be no great cause of the dearth that we haue, for the soile is not taken away, but the possession thereof is onely transferred from one kinde of persons to another.

Doctor.

Then to retourne to the matter of the coine where wee

Knight.

A brieft Conceipte.

left. I haue heard your conceipt how the alteration thereof, within our Realme did some men no harme, as Buyers and sellers: some other it did good vnto, as Farmors that had Lande at the olde Rent: and some other as Gentlemen, men of warre, seruants, and all other liuing by any rated or stented rent or stipend, were great losers by it: But I heard you say it was so much withal to the losse of the Prince, that it might be to the great perill of þ whole Realme in proesse of time. I meruayle howe it should be so, for I heard wise men say, that the Queenes highnesse Father did winne inestimable great summes, by the alteration of the Coyne.

Doctor.

Howe the alteration of the Coyne should be most losse to the Prince.

So it was for the time, but I liken that gaynes to such as men haue when they sell away their landes, to haue the greater some at one time, and euer after to lose the continuall increase that should grow thereof: for you knowe all the treasure of this Realme, must once in few yeares come to the Princes handes by one meanes or other, and from thence it should goe abroad againe to the Subjects. As all Springes runneth to the Ocean Sea, & out of it are they spred abroad againe: the as they came into þ kings coffers at the firste in good mettall, they came forth in such as you haue heretofore seene. And albeit it seemeth at þ first betw to empouerishe but the subjects onely: at length impouersiseth also the Prince: and then if the Prince should want in time of warre, specially sufficient treasure to pay for armor, weapons, tacklings of shippes, gunnes, and other artillery necessary for þ warre, and could by no meanes haue of the subjects wherewith to buy þ same, what case should the Realme be in: Surely in very euill, & therefore these Coynes and treasure bee not without cause called of wise men, *Nerui bellorum* (þ is to say) the Synowes of warre. And that is the greatest dainger that I doe consider, should growe for want of treasure to the Prince and the Realme.

for

for though a Prince may haue what copie he will curreant within his Realme, yet the straungers cannot be compelled to take them. And I graunt, if men might liue within themselves, all together without borowinge of any other thing outwarde, we might deuise what copie wee would: but since we must haue neede of other and they of vs, wee must frame our things not after our owne phantasies, but to followe the common market of all the worlde, and wee may not set the price of things at our pleasure, but followe the price of the vniuersall Market of the Worlde, I graunt also that brasse hath bene coyned ere this, yea & Leather in some places. But euer I reade þ that was at an extreme neede, which thinge is not to bee followed as an example, but to be eschewed as longe as possible may be: And if our treasure be farre spent and exhaust (as it hapened in the later yeares of King Henry the eight) I could wish that any other order were taken for the recouery of it, then þ deprauing of our coynes, which serueth the Prince but a litle while, for some present thifte, and hindered him a long time afterwarde. I am perswaded that within our Realme treasure might bee soone recouered by these two meanest: first if we forbade the bringing in and selling of so many trifles as I before reherse to be brought vs from beyond the sea, & that nothing made beyond the sea of our owne commodities should be sold heere. And secondly, if we forbade that none of our commodities should passe into wrought ouer sea, which being wrought here and sold ouer should bring in infinite treasure in shorthe time.

Many and there yee bee contrary to the opinions of many a great wise man, which thinke it better þ all our wooll were sold ouer sea into wrought, then any Clothers should be set a worke withall, within this realme.

That were a straunge thinge in mine opinion, that any man should thinke so, and what should mooue them to be of that

Knight.

Doctor.

A brieft Conceipte

of that opinion I pray you.

Knight,

Whether all
our Wooll
were expédiēt
to be fould o-
uer vnwrought

I will tell you. They take it that all insurrections & by-
roares for the most parte, do rise by occasion of these clothi-
ers: For when clothiers lack vent ouer sea: then is a great
multitude of these clothiers idle. And when they be idle, the
they assemble in companies and murmur for lack of liuing,
and so picke one quarrell or other to stirre the poore com-
mons that bee as idle as they, to a commotion: And some-
times by occasion of warres there muste needes bee some
stay of clothes, so as they cannot haue alwayes like sale or
vent: at euery which time if the said Clothiers should take
occasion of commotiō, they thinke it were better that there
were none of them in the Realme at all, and consequently
that y^e wooll were vttered unwrought ouer sea, then to haue
it wrought here.

Doctor.

So it may seeme to them that considers one inconueni-
ence, and not another. Surely who soeuer hath many per-
sons vnder his gouernaunce, shall haue much a doe to go-
uerne them in quietnes, and he that hath a greate familie
shal haue sometimes trouble in the ruling of them. It were
but a meane pollicie eyther for a Prince to diminish hys
number, or for a Maister of a house to put away his Ser-
uauntes, because he would not haue any trouble with y^e go-
uernaunce of them: he that would so do, might be well re-
sembled to a man that should sell his land because he wold
not be troubled with the accompt of it. I thinke it meete
that we did not onely encrease y^e feate of clothing, but also
intend diuers other mo feats & occupations, whereby our
People myghte bee set a worke, rather then take away a-
ny occupation from them, specially such as clothynge is,
that setteth so many thousandes a worke, and enriche
both Towne and Countrey. Where it is occupied in
Venice, as I haue heard, and in many other places beyond
Sea, they rewarde and cheartly euery man that byngs in
any

any newe Arte, or mystery, whereby the people might bee set a worke, with such thinges as shoulde both finde their worke men, and also bring some treasure or other commodity into the Countrey. And shall we contrary wise labour to destroy our best and most profitable trade, which is by clothing? I would know what thing els might bring vs treasure from straunge parties, or wherewith shoulde so many of our people be set a worke, as haue nowe their lyuings by clothing, if that occupation were layde downe?

Mysteries are
to be increased
rather than di-
minished.

May wee might haue treasure ynough from outward Parties for our Woollens, though none were broughte within the Realme: And as for an Occupation, to set our Clothiers a worke, they might bee set to the Plough and husbandry, and that shoulde make husbandry to be the more occupied, & grassing lesse, when all these people that nowe doe occupy clothing, shoulde fall to husbandry.

Knight,

As to the first that yee sayd that Wooll is sufficient to bring in treasure: if it were (as it is not in deede) yet that Fate were not for the Weale, nor for continuance of the Realme. For when euery man would fall to breede sheepe and to increase Wooll, and so at length all other occupations shoulde bee set a side, and breeding of sheepe onely occupied, then yee knowe that a fewe sheepe maisters would serue for a whole Shyre: & so in procelle of time & multitude of the subjects shoulde be worne away, and none lesse but a fewe Sheepheards, which were no number sufficient to serue the Prince at neede, or to defend this realme from Enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee woulde that these Clothiers shoulde fall from that occupation to husbandry: how coulde so many added to them that occupy husbandry already, get their lyuinge by the same, when they that kee husbandmen nowe, haue but a small Lyuinge thereby. And if yee woulde say to mee that they shoulde haue at all times, free vent and full Sale of

Doctor,

R.

their

A brieſe Conceipte.

their coine ouer ſea, then commeth the ſame inconueniencē in that ye thought to auoide before, by putting them from clothing. For ſome yerres it ſhould happē either for warres or by reaſon of plenty in all parties beyond the Sea, that they ſhould haue no bent of their coine, and then be dyuen to be idle, and conſequently for lacke of liuing to aſſemble together, and make like bypoares as ye ſpake of before.

They haue in Fraunce more handy craftes occupied and a greater multitude of Artificers, then wee haue here by a greate deale, and for all that they haue made many greate ſturres and commocions there before this: yet they will not deſtroy artificers, for they know that the higheſt Princes of them all, without ſuch artificers could not mainteine their eſtate. Doth not all they? tonnes cuſtomes, taxes, tallages, and ſubſidies chiefly growe by ſuch artificers? What king can mainteine his eſtate with his yearely reuenues onely growing of his landes: For as many ſeruaunts in a houſe well ſet a worke, gaines euery man ſomewhat to their maiſter: So doth euery artifiſer in a Realme ech gaine ſomewhat, and altogether a great maſſe to the king & his realme euery yeare it bringeth.

Knight.

Three ſortes of
Artificers.

One bringeth
out our Trea-
ſure.

And now becauſe we are entred into communication of artificers, I will make this diuiſion of them. Some of the do but conuey money out of the countrey: Some other that which they get, they do ſpend againe in the countrey. And the third ſorte of Artificers is of them that doe bring in Treafure into the countrey. Of the firſt ſort I reckon all mercers, Grocers, Cloathiers, Haberdashers, Pilleners, and ſuch as do ſell wares growing beyond the ſea, and do fetch out our treafure for the ſame, which kinde of artificers as I reckē them tollerable, yet not ſo neceſſary in a common Weale, but they might be beſt ſpared of all other. Yet if we had not other Artificers to bringe in as much treafure as they doe

cary forth, we should be greate loofers by them. Of the second sorte bee these. Shoemakers, Tailours, Carpenters, Masons, Tylers, Bouchers, Brewers, Bakers, and Vintailers of all sortes, which like as they get their liuing in þ country, so they spend it: but they bring in no treasure vnto vs. Therefore we must chearish well the third sort. And those be Clothiers, Tanners, Tappers, and Woestedmakers, onely that I knowe, (which by their miseries and faculties) do bring in any treasure. As for our wolley selles, Tinne, Ledde, Butter and Cheese, these be commodities that the ground beares requyryng the industrye of a fewe persons, and if wee shoulde onely trust to such and deuise nothing els to occupy our selues with, a few persons wold serue for the rearing of such thinges, and few also it wold finde: and so shoulde our realme be but like a grange better furnished with beastes then with men, whereby it mighte be subiecte to the spoile of other nations, aboute whych is the more to bee feared and eschued: because the countrey of his owne kinde is apte to byynge forth such thinges as bee for encrease of cattell, then for such thinges as be for þ nourishment of men. If Pomponius mela be to be beleueed, which describyng this Ilande sayeth thus. Plana, ingens, & ferax: sed eorum que pecora, quam homines benignius alant. That is to say, it is playne, large, and plentiful: But of these thinges that nourisheth Beastes more kindly then men. So many Forestes, Chases, Parkes, Warthes, and waste groundes being more here, then most commonly elsewhere, declare the same not to bee all in bayne, that hee affyrmes. It hath not so much erable Grounde, Tynes, Olyues, Fruites, and such as bee both most necessary for the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their culture, so they finde most persons foode, as Fraunce and diuerse other Countries haue. Therefore as much good

A nother sped that they get in the same country as gayne.

The thrid sort bring in Treasure, and therefore must be cherished.

Pomp. Mel.

A brieue Conceipte:

as is here apte for these things would be tourne'd as much as may be to such uses as may finde moste persons. And ouer that townes and Cities would be replenished wyth all kinde of Artificers, not onely clothyers, which is as it were our natural occupation, but with Cappers, Glouers, Paper makers, Glasiers, Paynters, Golde smithes, blacke smithes of al sortes, Couerlet makers, needle makers, pinners and such other, so as we should not onely haue trowth of such thinges to serue our Realme and saue an infynite treasure, that goeth now ouer for many of the same: but also might spare of such things ready wrought to be solde ouer, whereby we should fetch againe other necessary commodities or treasure. And this shoulde both replenish the Realme of People able to defende it, And also saue & win much treasure to the same. Such occupations alone do enrich diuers countreyes that be else baren of them selues.

Mysteries doe
enrich coun-
tries that be
els barren.

And what riches they byynge to the Countries where they be well used. The Countrey of Flaunders, and Germanie do well declare, where throughe such occupations it hath so many, & eke so wealthy Cities, & it were almost incredible so litle grounde to sustaine so much people. Wherefore in my minde they are far wide of right consideration, & would haue either none or els lesse clothing wthin this Realme, because it is some time occasion of busines & tumults, which cometh for lacke of vent. There is nothing euery way so comonious or necessary for mans vse, but it is sometimes by ill handling occasion of some displeasure, no not fier and water that be so necessary as nothing can be more.

Knight.

Yea maister Doctoz we stand not in like case as Fraunce or Flaunders that yee speake of: if they haue not vente one way, they may haue it another way alwaies, for the firme land is rounde about them in maner. If they bee at warre wth one Neypghour, they will bee friendes wth another to whose

to whose Countreys they may sende theyr commodities to sell.

So may wee bee, if wee were so wyle, to keepe one Friende or other alwayes in hande. Who will be so mad being a Priuate man, but hee will bee sure to doe so. Let wyle men consider what Friendes this Realme hath had in time past. And if they bee now lost or intercepted another way since, let vs purchase other for them: or els geue as litle occasion of breache with our Neypghbours as may bee. The Wise man as I remēber, sayth in Ecclesiastes: Non est bonum homini esse solum.

Also in Fraunce they haue diuerse Bandes of men in Armes, in diuerse places of the Realme, to repress such Tumults quickly if any should arise. If wee had the like heere, wee might bee bould to haue as many Artificers as they haue.

G D D Sworobote, that euer wee should haue any such Tyrantes come among vs: for as they say, such will in þ Countrey of Fraunce take poore mens Hennes, Chikens, Pigges, and other prouision, and pay nothinge for it, except it bee an ill turne, as to Rauthe hys Wyfe, or hys Daughters for it: and euen in like manner sayd the Marchaunt man adding thereto, that hee thought that woulde rather bee an occasion of Commocions to bee stirred then to bee quenched. For (as hee sayd) the Stomacks of Englishe men would neuer beare, to suffer such Iniuries, and Reproches, as hee hearde that such bled to doe to the Subjects of Fraunce, which in reproche they call Defaunts.

May the Prynce might restrayne them well ynough, for doing Outrages vpon great paynes.

What if it were skant in his power to doe: the Romaines had sometimes such men of armes in diuerse places for defence of the Emppye, it was thought, that at length it ouer

R 3.

threwe

Doctor,

Aliaunce vvith
straungers are
to be purcafed
and kept.

Knight.

Whether great
Armies be as ne-
cessary heere as
in Fraunce.

Husband.

Marchaunt.

Knight.

Doctor.

A brieft Corceipte.

shewe the same. Iulius Caesar doth that declare: and many times after that when the Emperors died, the men of warre Erected what Emperoz they lysted, sometime of a Slaue or a Bondman contrary to the Election of the Senate of Rome, being chiefe Counsaylors of the Emprye, till the whole Emprye was cleane destroyed: it is not for commotions of Subiects, that Fraunce also keepeth such: but the state and necessity of the Countrey which is inuironed about with enemies, and neither sea nor waile betwene the, against whose Inrodes and inuasion they mayntayne those men of warre of necessity. They would faine lay the downe, if they durst for feare of their neighbours. And some wise men among them haue sayd and written, that the same men of Armes may bee the destruction of their Kingdome at length. And beside that the largenesse of our Dominion or Situation of the same towarde other Countreys, doth not require such men, nor yet the reuenues of this realme is able to make by so like number with Fraunce. And then if we should make a lesse number, wee should declare our selues inferiour in power to Fraunce, to whom wee haue bene hitherto counted Superiour in successes, through the stoutenesse of our Englishe hearts. And therefore I would not haue a small soze cured by a greater grieve, nor for auoydinge of populer Sedicion, which happeneth very seldom and soone quenched, to bring in a continuall yoke & charge both to the Prince and the people.

A lesse grieve
would not be
holpen with a
great soze.

Knight.

You say well, and so as I can say no more against your sentence, but yet I would wishe your saying could satisfie other men as well as it doth mee.

Doctor.

Well, it is now tyme to make an ende. I haue troubled you heere with a tedious and longe talke.

Knight.

I could be content to be troubled longer of that sozte.

Maichaunt,
& Capper.

And so coulde wee, though it were all this day, but for troubling of your selfe gentle maister Doctor.

Yet the

Yet the most necessary pointe which wee spake of is yet
behinde, that is, how these thinges may be remedied: And
therefore wee will not goe from you till wee haue hearde
your aduice heerein.

Knight.

A Gods name, I will shewe my phantasie in that part:
But let vs first goe to supper. And so wee went to gether
to our Supper, where our Hoste had prepared honestly
for vs.

Doctor.

THE

THE THYRD DIA- logue, wherein are deuised *some remedies for the same* griefes.

Knight



Fter wee had well

refreshed our selues at supper, I thought long till I had knowne þ iudgement of mayster Doctor, about the remedies of the thinges aboue remēbyed, how he thought they might bee best redressed, and with least danger oz alteration of things. (And therefore I sayd vnto him thus:)

Since yee haue declared vnto vs (good mayster Doctor) our diseases and also the occasions thereof, we pray you leaue vs not destitute of conuenient remedies for the same. You haue perswaded vs full, and wee perceauē it well our selues, that we are not now in so good state as wee haue bene in times past. And you haue shewed vs probable occasions that hath brought vs to that case, therefore now we pray you shewe vnto vs, what mighte remedye these our griefes.

Doctor,

When a man doth perceauē his griefe, and the occasion also of the same, hee is in a good way of amendment. For knowing the occasion of the griefe, a man may soone auoide the same occasion: and that being auoyded, the griefe is also taken away. For as the Philosophē sayth: *Sublata causa tollitur effectus*. But let vs brieely recount þ griefes and then the occasions thereof, and thirdly goe to the inquisition of the remedies for the same. First this vniuersall
dearth,

dearth in comparifon of þ former age, is þ chiefest griefe þ
all men complaines moft on. Secondly Inclofures, & tur-
ning of erable grounde to pasture. Thirdly decayinge of
Cownes, Cownehippes, and Tillages, and laft diuifion &
diuerfite of opinions in religion. The occafions or caufes
of thefe, although I haue before diuerfly declared after the
diuerfite of mens mindes and opinions. Yet here I will
take out of the fame, But onely fuch as I thinke verely to
be the very iuft occafions in deeds. For as I ſhewed you be-
fore, diuers men diuerfly iudge, this or that to be the caufe
or occafion of this or that griefe, and bicaufe there may bee
diuers caufes of one thinge, and yet but one principall caufe
that byngeth forth the thinge to paffe: Let vs ſeeke oute þ
caufe, omitting all the meane caufes, which are diuen for-
ward by the leaft originall caufe, as in a yelle going in at
a ſtraight, the formoft is diuen by him that is nexte hym, &
the next by him that followes him, and the third by ſome vi-
olent and ſtronge thing that bypues him forwarde, which
is the firſt and principall caufe of the putting forwarde of
the reſt afore him. If he were kept backe and ſtayed, al they
that goe afore would ſtay withal. To make this more plain
vnto you: as in a clocke there be many wheelles, yet the firſt
wheele being ſturred it bypueeth the next, and that þ thyrde
&c. till the laſt that moues the inſtrument that ſtrikes the
clocke: So in making of an houſe, there is the maſter that
would haue the houſe made, there is the Carpenter, & there
is the ſuffe to make the houſe with al: þ ſuffe neuer ſtirres
till the worke man do ſet it forward, the worke man neuer
trauailes but as þ maſter prouoketh him to good wages,
and ſo he is the principall caufe of this houſe making. And
this caufe is of þ learned called efficient, as that, þ byngeth
the principall thing to effect. Perſwade this man to let this
building alone, and the houſe ſhall neuer come to paſſe, yet
the houſe can not bee made without the ſuffe, and worke-
men

The originall
cauſe in euery
thing is to be
ſearched.

A brieſe Conſeipte

Diuerſe ſorts
of cauſes there
bee.

Cic. top.
Li. 5.

Sublata cau-
ſa tollitur
effectus.

men, and therefore they be called of ſome cauſe ſine quibus
non, and of ſome other Materiales, & Formales, but all
commeth to one purpoſe. It is the efficient cauſe, & is, the
principall cauſe, without remouing of which cauſe & thing
that cannot be remedied. And becauſe that it was graſſed in
every mans iudgement, & the cauſe of any thing being take
away, the effecte is taken away with all. Therefore men
tooke the cauſes of theſe thinges that we talke of withoute
iudgement, not diſcerning the principall cauſe from the
meane cauſes, that by taking away of theſe cauſes that bee
but ſecondary as it were, they were neuer the neare to re-
medy the thinge they went about, much like the wiſe of A-
tax that loſt her husband in y^e ſhippe called Argos, wiſhed y^e
thoſe ſirre beames had neuer bene ſelled in Peleus wood,
whereof the ſayd ſhippe was made, when that was not the
efficient cauſe of the looſing of her husband, but y^e wyld fyre
caſt in the ſayd ſhippe, which did ſet it a fyre. Such cauſes as
they be, be called remote, as it were to ſarke of: ſo they bee
also idle and of no operation of them ſelues, without ſome
other to ſet them a worke, and percaſe I (while I degreſſe
ſo farre from my matter) ſhalbe thought to go as far from
the purpoſe, yet to come to our matter, and to apply theſe y^e
I haue ſaide to the ſame, Some thinkes this dearche be-
gynnes by the tenaunt in ſelling his wares ſo deare, & ſome
other by the Lord in reſtyng his land ſo high. And ſome by
theſe incloſures. And ſome other by the reſtyng of our coin
or alteration of the ſame. Therefore ſome by taking ſome
one of theſe things away (as their opinion ſerued them to
be the principall cauſe of this dearch) thought to remedye
this dearch. But as the tryall of the thing ſhewed they tou-
ched not the cauſe efficient principall, and therefore they
deuiſe toke no place, and if they had, the thinge had bene re-
medied ſo ſoon, for that is proper to the principall cauſe
that as ſoone as it is taken away the effecte is remedied alſo.

¶

Yet I confesse all these things rayleth together with this
 dearth, that euery of them should seeme to be the cause of
 it, neuertheless that is no good prooffe that they should bee
 the causes of it, no more then was the scyple made at Do-
 uer, the cause of the decay of the Hauen of Douer, because
 the Hauen began to decay the same time, that the Scyple
 began to be builded: nor yet, though some of these because
 of the other in deede, yet they be not all the efficient causes
 of this dearth. But as I haue sayd before of men thrusting
 one another in a thronge one dyping another, and but one
 first of all, that was the chiefe cause of that force: So in this
 matter that we talke of, there is some one thing that is the
 ovyginall cause of these causes, that be as it were secondary
 and makes them to be the causes of other, as I take y^e ray-
 ling of al pyles of victuals at y^e husbandmans hand, is cause
 of the rayling of y^e rent of his land. And y^e Gentlemen fall so
 much to take fearmes to theyr hands, that they bee driven
 to buy theyr provision to deere, that is a great cause against
 that Inclosure is the more used: For Gentlemen haue ge-
 much land in their hand and not being able to weild all and
 see it manured in husbandry, which requyeth the industry
 labour and gouernance of a greate many of persons, doe
 conuerte mosse of that Lande to Pastures, wherein is re-
 quyred both lesse charge of persons, and of the which ma-
 uertheless cometh more cleare gaines. Thus one thinge
 hanges by another, and sets forward one another, but
 one fyrst of all is y^e chiefe cause of all this circuler motion &
 impulsions. I shewed shew while, that y^e chiefe cause was not
 in the husbandman, nor yet in y^e Gentleman. Let vs see whe-
 ther it were in the marchaunte. It apperayn by reason
 that all wares bought of husbandmen are now faire the they
 were wont to be, the husbandman is dypen to set his com-
 dities dearer now y^e the matter is brought to matter mar-
 chaunt, how can ye auoyd the cause from being in you.

A brieft Conceipte

Marchaunt. Sir easily ynough for as wee sell nowe dearer all thinges then wee were wont to do. So wee buy dearer all thinges of straungers: and therfore let them put the matter from vs, for we vilburden our selues of this fault.

Doctor. And they be not here to make aunswere, if they were, I would aske them why they sell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe.

Marchaunt. Mary and to that I hearde many of them aunswere. er this (when they were asked that question) two maner of wayes. One was they selled in deede no dearer then they were wont to do: saying for prooffe thereof that they would take for chey commodities, as much and no more of our commodities then they were wont to do. As for our tod of woll they would giue almuch Wine, Spice or Silke as they were wont to geue for so much. Yea for an ounce of our siluer or golde, as much stufte as euer was geuen for y same: and the other aunswere was y if we reckened they did sell their wares dearer because they demaunded moe pecies of our coyne for the same then they were wont to do, that was not their fault they saide but oures, that made our pecies lesse or lesse worth then they were in tymes past. Therefore they demaunded the moe pecies of them for their Wares, saying, they caried not what names wee would giue our coynes, they would consider y quantitie & right value of it, that they were esteemed at, euery where throughe y world.

The straungers
aunswere to
ching this
dearth.

Knight. Then I would haue answered the there of this sort. If they came hether but for our commodities, what made it y matter to them, what quantity or value our coyne were. If so they might haue as much of our commodities for y same as they were wont to do. If they came againe for our siluer and golde. It was neuer lawfull, nor yet is expedient they should haue any from vs. Therefore I would thinke that was no cause why they should sell they wares dearer then they were wont to doe.

Then

Doctor.

Then he might haue answered againe, that it chaunced not all wayes together, that when they had wares whych we wanted, we had againe al those wares they looked for. And therefore they hauinge percase moze wares necessarie for vs, then we had of such wares as they looked for, would be glad to receiue of vs such stuffe currant in most places, as might buy that they looked for elsewhere at their pleasure: And that they will say was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not transporting ouer sea any gold or siluer, they passed not thereof, so they mighte haue the same ones conueyed thē. As they had many waies to haue it so, which I haue before remembred. Finally hee might say that wee had not in deede our coyne in that estate our selues, that by the name they pretended, but esteemed both the value & quantity of the stuffe it was made of. For if they had brought vn to vs halfe an ounce of siluer, wee would not take it for an ounce: nor if they brought vs brasse mingled with siluer, we would not take it for pure siluer, and if wee would not take it so at thei handes, why shoulde they take it otherwise at ours. Then they saw no man here but would rather haue a cup of siluer thē of brasse, no not the maister of our mints though they would otherwise perswade the one to be as good as the other. Therefore seeing vs esteeme the one in deede better then the other, as all the world doth beside, why should they not esteeme our coine after quantity and value of the substance thereof, both after the rate it was esteemed amonge vs, & also euery other where. And so as in moe pieces now there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore, therefore they demaunded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in substance that they were wont to demaund for their wares. Now let vs see whether now goeth the cause of this matter: from the strangers: For me thinkes he hath reasonably excused himselfe & put it from him.

A brieft Conceipte

Knight.

By your tale it must bee in the coine, and consequently in the Kynges highnes by whose commaundement h same was altered.

Doctor.

Yea percase it goes further yet, yea to such as were the first counsaillours of that dedde, pretending it should bee to his highnes greate and notable commoditie, which if his grace mought haue perceiued to haue ben but a momēt in profit, and continuall losse both to his highnes and also hys whole Realme. He with his people might haue ben easely reuoked againe, from the practise of that simple deuise: but as a man that entendeth to heale an other by a medecine h he thinkes good, thoughte it proue otherwile, is not much to be blamed: no more was the kinges maiesty in any wyse, (in whose time this was don, which is not to be supposed to haue intended thereby any losse, but rather commoditie to him selfe and his subiects) to be herein reprehended, albeit the thing succeeded beside the purpose.

Knight.

Then ye thinke plainly h this alteration of h coyne was the chiefe and principall cause of this vniuersall dearth.

Doctor.

Yea no doubt, and of many of h sayd grieues that we haue talked of, by meanes, it being the originall of all, and that beside the reason of the thing, being playne enough of it selfe: also experience & prooffe doth make it more playne. For euen with h alteration of h coyne began this dearth, and as the coyne appayzed so rose the prices of thinges with all: & this to be true, h few pieces of olde coyne which afterward remained, did testifie. For ye should haue for any of h same coyne as much of any ware either outward or inward as euer was wont to be had for the same. For as the measure is made lesse, there goeth more number to make by the tale, and because this reiled not together at all mens handes, therfore some had greate losses and some other greate Gains thereby, and that made such a generall grudge for the thinge at the fyrst tyme. And thus to conclude.

I thinke

That the alteration of the coyne was the very cause of the dearth and consequently of other griefs euer since that time.

I thinke this alteration of p Coine to haue ben p first original cause, that straungers first could their wares dearer to vs, and that made all p farmors, and Tenaunts, that reared any comodity againe, to sell p same dearer. The dearth thereof made the Gentlemen to rayse their rents, & to take p farmes to their handes for their better prouision, and consequently, to inclose more Groundes.

If this were the chiefest cause of the dearth, as of very good probability (by you maister Doctor) heere tofore alleged, it should seeme to be: how cometh it to passe (where as you say, if the cause be remoued, the effect is also taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not backe to their olde rate, whereas now long sithence our english coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princeesse which now rayghneth) hath bene againe thoroughly restored to his former purity and perfection.

Knight.

Indeepe sir I must needes confesse vnto you (although it may seeme at the first sighte to discredite my former sayings in some parte) that notwithstanding that our Coyne at this present day, yea and many yeares past, hath recovered his aunciente goodnesse, yet the dearth of all thinges, which I before affirmed to haue proceeded of p decay thereof, to remayne and continue still amongst vs. Therefore as your doubt heerein moued very aptly, and to p purpose, is well worthy the consideration: to doe I account it of such difficulty, p perhaps it would not be thought to stand with modesty, to vndertake without farther study presently to dissolue the same.

Doctor.

Syr, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modesty. I vnderstand well ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of sufficient store (without farther deliberation) to satisfie vs withal, in greater matters (if neede were) then these.

Knight.

Well, I am content (because you will haue it so) to peelee

Doctor.

A brieve Conceipte

peeloe to your importunity. I will utter frackely vnto you myne Opinion heerein, but vnder protestation that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewise with mee your owne Phantasies and iudgements in the same: I finde therefore two speciall causes in myne Opinion, by meanes of the which, notwithstanding prestitution made in our coine, the aforesayd dearth of thinges in respect of þ former age remayneth yet among vs. The first is, that whereas immediately after the basenesse of our Coyne in þ time of King Henry the eight, þ prices of all things generally among al sortes of people, rose: it must needs happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen which liued onely vpon þ reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the smarte hereof, then any other of what order or estate so euer. This therefore being taken as most true, the Gentlemen desirouse to mayntaine their former credite in bearing out þ Porte of their Predecessors, were diuened of necessity as often as whensoever any Leases deuised for terme of yeares, by theselues or their ancestors were througibly expired, & fel into their hands, not to let them out againe for the most part, but as þ rentes of them were farre racked beyonde þ olde: Vea this racking and hoyslinge by of rentes hath continued euer since þ time vntill this present day: hereupon the hul bandman was necessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before, and so continueth vnto this day, to sell his victailles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them: and likewise other artificers withall to maintaine the like proportion in their wares, wherofore as this dearth at the first time (as I said before) sprang of the alteration of the coyne, as of his first and chiefest efficient cause: so doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto and so foreward, partly to the racked and stretched rentes which haue lasted, yea, and increased euer since that time hetherunto, & so are like to continue I know

know not how long. Now if we would in these our dayes, haue the olde pennyworthes generally restored among vs a gayne. The restoring of our good Coine, which already is past, & before it improved rentes would only of it selfe haue ben sufficiēt to haue brought this matter to passe, will not serue in these our dayes, except shall the racked rentes bee pulled downe which possibly cānot be wthout the cōmon consent of our landesmen throughout the whole realme. Another reason I cōceiue in this matter to be a great store & plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of the world far more in these our dayes, then euer our forefathers haue sene in times past. Whiche doth not vnderstand of an infinite summes of gold & siluer, which are gathered from the Indies & other countreies, & so yearly transported vnto these coastes: As this is otherwise most certain, so doth it euidently appere by the cōmō report of all aūcient men liuing in these daies. It is their cōstant report, that in times past & within the memory of man, he hath ben accounted a rich & wealthy man & wel able to keepe house among his neighbors which all things discharged, was clearly worth xxx. or xl. l. but in these our dayes a man of the same estimation, is so far in the cōmon opiniō from a good house keeper, or man of wealth, that he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore these ii. reasons seemed vnto me to contain in them sufficient probability for causes of the continuance of this generall dearth.

Yea, but (sir) if the increase of treasure be partly the occasion of this continued dearth: then by likelyhood in other our neighbors nations, vnto whom yearly is conuayghed great store of gold and siluer, the pyeces of victayles, and other wares in like sorte, raysed according to the increase of their treasure:

It is euen so, and therefore to better freely myne Opiniō (as I account it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboue reherſed to reuoke or call backe agayne all our En-

¶

lish

Knight.

De flor.

A brieue Conceipte.

glishe wares vnto their old prices: so doe I not take it to be either profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wishe that our commodities should bee vttered good cheape to straigers, and theirs on þ other side deare vnto vs, which could not be without great impouerishing of the Commonweale, in a very shorte time.

Knight.

Now that you haue so well touched the occasion of this derth, and what is to be hoped or wished of þ same so fully, that I am well satisfied withall. I pray you shew me the remedies of this great Inclosiers, whereof all the realme complaineth of so much, and hath complaind long vpon. For you haue well perswaded how it is a meane of greates desolation of this realme, and that is longe of þ great profit that men haue by pasture, ouer þ they haue by tillage þ they turne so much to pasture. Now I would fayne heare how it might be remedied againe: for I haue hearde this matter of long time, & often reasoned vpon aswell in Parliament, as in Cōsailles, & yet small remedy found there: for that tooke effect.

Doctor.

If I, then after so many wise heades as were in those Parliaments and Counsailes, would take vpon me to correct (as they say) Magnificat, & to finde a remedy for this thinge, which they could neuer doe. I might be reckened very arrogant.

Knight.

Yet tell your phantasie therein, for though you misse of the right meane to reforme that, it shall be no more shame for you to doe so, then it was for so many wise men as yee speake of to misse.

Doctor.

You say truth, and since I speake nothing in this part, þ I would haue takē as it were for a law or determined thing, but as a certayn motion for other wise men to cōsider, & to admit or reiect, as to their better reason shall seeme good: therefore as yee haue boldned me already to your patience to say thus farre, I will not spare to declare my minde in this

this. But still I must keepe my grounde, that I spake of, that is to try out the effectuall cause of this inclosures, and then by taking away of the cause to redresse the thinge.

I pray you doe so, for to mee it seemes very reasonable that ye say, and agreable to that I heard a good Physitian tell me ones, when I was sicke of an ague: when I asked him why he gaue me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weak enough already: saying, hee had more neede to geue me thinges that should make me stronger. Then he answered me that choler was the cause of my sickenes, and that hee gaue me those purgations to auoyde this humour, which being the cause of my disease ones taken away, the sickenes should be ridde from mee withall. And therfore I pray you vse your accustomed order in this matter and tel the cause of these Inclosures.

Knight.

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

I shewed you before in our communication in the Garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cause thereof, and partely the remedy of the same.

Doctor.

So did other men among vs tell their fantasie as then, but now, we pray you tell which of al those causes ye take for the necessary and efficient cause of this matter.

Knight.

To tell you plaine it is auarice & I take for & principall cause thereof, but can we deuise & all couetousnes can be taken fro men. No, no more the we can make men to be without wealch, without gladnes, without feare, and withoute all affections: what then? we must take away from men the occasion of their couetousnes, in this part, what is that? the exceeding laker that they see grow by these inclosures more then by their husbandry. And that may be done by any of these two meanes & I will tell you. Either by the diminishing the laker that men haue by grasing. Or els by aduancing of the profit of husbandry til it be as good, and as profitable to the occupiers as grasing is, for euery mā (as Plato saith) is naturally couetous of laker. And & wherein they see

Doctor.

How Inclosures may be remedied.

Omnes sunt lucri cupidi.

A brieft Conceipte.

most laker, they wil most gladly exercise: I shewed you before, that there is more laker by grasing of x. Acres to þ occupier alone, then is in þ tillage of xx. And þ causes therof, be many, one is þ grasing requires, small charge & small labor, which in tillage cōsumes much of þ mēs gains. though it be true þ the tillage of x. acres brings more gaines generally amongs the maister & all his mainy then the grasing of xx. acres. Another great cause is, that whatsoeuer thing is reared vpon grasing hath free vente both ouer this side & also beyond the sea to be sold at the highest penny. It is contrary of all thinges reared by tillage, for it requires both great charge of seruaunts & of labor. And also if any good cheape be of corne, it paieth scant for the charge of þ tillage. And then if the market do arise either within þ Realme or without, the poore husband shalbe so restrained frō sellyng his corn, þ he neuer after shal haue any toy to set his plough in the ground wherby maketh euery man forsake tillage and fall to grasing which bringeth all these Inclosures.

Knight.
Doctor.

Pratū quasi
paratum.

Now what remedy for that.

Parry as for the first poynt, that is, touching the vnequal charges of tillage and grasing, that can not be holpen in al pointes, by reason the nature of both reapes the contrarye. Therefore the latine tongue calles the one, that is pasture pratum, that is asmuch to say as: paratum, ready. But thee other thinge might be remedied, that þ husbandmā might haue asmuch liberty at all times to sel his corne either within the Realme, or without: as the grasers hath to sell hys, which would make the husbandmen more willing to occupy theyr plough. And other seeing them thirue would turn theyr pasture to tyllage. And though it enhaunce the market for the time, yet would it cause much more tillage to be vsed and consequently more Corne, within time of plenty within this Realme, might byynge in much treasure. And in time of sic arisye wolud suffice for þ realme as shewed you

ed you before. And this with laker they should be entyres
to occupy the Plough, yea & with other priuileges. I haue
red þ in this realme sometime there was such a lawe as a
man that had trespassed the law of misadventure moughte
haue taken the Plough taylor for his sanctuare. Also þ oc-
cupation was had so honourable amonge the Romaines þ
one was taken from holding the plough to bee Consul in
Rome, who after his yeare ended thought no scorne to re-
sort to þ same feate againe. What occupatiõ is so necessary
or so profitable for mās life as this is. Or what mistery is
so void of al craft as the same is, & how litle is it regarded:
yea how much it is despised: that many in these dayes re-
pites thē but as villains, pelsaunts, or slaues, by whom the
proudest of thē haue their liuings. So þ I maruaile much
there is any (seing such a vility & contēpt of þ thing) wil oc-
cupy the feat of husbandry at al: For as honour nourisheth
al sciences, so dishonour must nedes decay thē. And therefore
if ye wil haue husbandry encreased ye must honoꝝ & cherish
it, þ is to let thē haue honest gaines thereby & since þ gains
shal come into your countrey why shoulde you bee offended
thereto. Another way is to abate the commodity of grasing
as whē any tase is requisite to be graunted to þ Prince, if
lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of pasture
as much as two of erable. Or els to burden wolles & fcls, &
such things as are reared by grasing þ passe to þ partes be-
yond þ sea vnto outh, with double talage ouer any corn tra-
sported, and so by enhaunsing the profite of tollage, and aba-
sing of the profit of grasing, I doubt not but Husbandrye
would be moze occupied and grasing much lesse. And ther-
by these inclosures to be broken vp. Also there is one thing
of old time ordeined in this realme which being kept vnal-
tered would helpe hereunto also, that is where men are en-
ter cōminers in þ cōmō fields, & also haue their porcions so
entermedled one with another, that though they wold they
could not enclose any part of þ said fields so long as it is so.

A briefe Conceipte.

But of late diuers men finding greater profite by grasing then by Husbandry, haue founde the meanes either to buy theyr neighbors partes round aboute them. Or els to exchange with them so many acres in this place, for so many in another: whereby they might bringe all theyr landes together, and so inclose it, for the auoiding whereof I thinke verely, that it was so of oldetime ordeined, that euery Tenant had his lande not all in one parcell of euery field, but enterlaced with his neighbors landes so as here should bee three acres, and then his neighbor should haue as many, & ouer that be other three or iiii. and so after the like rate be the most partes of the copy holdes that I do know in this countrey, which I thinke good were still so continued for auoiding of the sayd enclosures, and thus farre as to that matter.

Marchaunt.

Of Townes
decayed.

Now that ye haue well declared your opinion in these matters of the common bearth and enclosures. I pray you tell vs your mynde what should be the occasion of the decay of the good townes of this Realme, and of all bridges highwayes, and Hospitales, and how the same may be remedied and releued againe. For that these husbandmen & dwellers of the countrey, finde not so greate lacke in the fieldes abroad, but Citizens and Burgeeses synde as much within theyr walles,

Doctor.

Since I haue begon to take vpon me to tell my phantasie in all these things. I will goe through. In mine opinion, the good occupations heretofore vsed in the sayd Townes, was occasion of theyr wealth in times past, and the laying downe of those occupations againe is the cause of the decay of the same townes. Wherefore if such occupations may be reuued againe in the same, they woulde recouer their former wealth againe.

Marchaunt.

I beleue that well, that the decay of the occupations was the decay of these townes, but what I pray you, was the

the occasion of such decay of the occupations.

Doctor.

The occasion
of the decay of
our Tovynges.

I will tell you while men were contented with such as were made in the market towne next unto them, then were they of our Townes and cities well set a worke, as I knew the time when men were contented with Cappes, Pattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garments made in the townes next adioyning, whereby the Townes were then well occupied and set a worke, and yet the money payd for the same stufte remayned in the countrey. Now, the poorest youngeman in a countrey cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, Knyues, or Daggers made nigh home. And specially no Gentleman can be content to haue either Cappe, Cote, Doublet, Hose, or Shyrte in his countrey, but they must haue this geare come from London and yet many thinges hereof are not there made, but beyōd the sea: whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle and the occupations in London, and specially of the townes beyōd the seages, are well set a worke euen vpon our costs. Therefore I would with some stay were deuised for comming of so many trifles from beyōd the Sea, and specially of such thinges as might be made here amongst our self. Or els might be either all spared or els lesse vbled amongst vs, as these dyynking and looking glasses, paynted clothes, perfumed gloues, daggers, kniues, pinnes, pointes, aglets buttons, and a thousande other thinges of like sort. As for silkes, wines, and spice, if there came lesse ouer, it made no matter. But specially I would that nothing made of oure commodities, as wolles felles, and tinne, such be brought from beyōd the sea to be solde here: but y all thole should be wrought within this realme: were it not better for vs y our owne people were set a worke with such thynges then straungers. I am sure xx. thousand persons might bee set a worke within this realme, that are set a worke beyōd sea with thole thinges that now be made beyōd the Sea, and might

A brieft Conceipte.

might be made here: (mighte not þ Prince bee glad of any
gyde, whei eby hee might finde £. M. persons throughe the
whole yeare, and burdeu his treasures with neuer a penny
thereof ?) I think these things might be wrought here not
onely sufficient to set so many a worke and serue þ realme,
but also to serue other parts, as all kinde of Cloth, & Ker-
sey: Clostedes, Couerlets, & Carpets of tapestry: Caps,
knit Sleeues, Hosen, Peticotes, and Pattes: then Paper
both white and browne, parchment, belam, and all kinde of
Leather ware, as gloues, popntes, gyrdles, skins for Jer-
kins: and of tyme all maner of vessell, and also all kinde of
glasses, and earthen pottes, tennice balles, cardes, tables, &
chesses, since we will needes haue such things. And Dag-
gers, kniues, hammers, sawes, chesells, axes & such things
made of yron might not wee bee ashamed to take all these
things at strangers handes, & set such a multitude of theire
people a worke as I spake of now, whose finding & wages
we doe beare now. Where all this profit might bee saued
within the Realme, where it should not goe from vs, but
returne to vs agayne from whence it came, and in settinge
vp of these occupations, I woulde haue them most prefer-
red and cherished, that bringeth most commodity and trea-
sure into the countrey, as yee must consider three sortes of
occupations: one that carrieth out the treasure, the second
sorte, that as it carrieth none forth of þ countrey, so it bring-
geth none in, but that it getteth it spendeth in the countrey,
the third bringeth in treasure to the countrey. Of the first
sorte are Vintners, Billeners, haberdashers, these galley
men, Mercers, Fustian Sellers, Grocers, & Pethecaries:
that selleth vs any Wares made beyond the Sea, for they
doe but exhaust the treasure of the Realme. Of the second
sorte are Wyctaylers, Inholders, Bouchers, Bakers,
Brewers, Taptors, Cordwinders, Sadlers, Carpen-
ters, Joiners, Malons, Blacke Smythes, Turners, &
Hoopers

Hoopers, which like as they conuey no money out of y^e countrey, so they bying none in. But where as they get it they spend it. Of the thyrd sort bee these, clothiers, cappers, woostedmakers, Pewterers, Tanners which bee all that wee haue of any arte which I can now reckon, that brings into the realme any treasure. Therefore these artes are to bee chearished, whereas they be used, and where they bee not they would be set vp, and also other sciēces mo, as making of glasses, making of Swerdes, Daggers, Knives, and al tooles of Iron and Steele, also making of pinnes, poyntis, laces, thred, and all manner of paper, and parchmēt. I haue heard say that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blew threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in maner onely, and now our thredde comes all from beyonde Sea. Therefore that trade of Couentry is decayed, and thereby the towne likewise. So Bristol had a great trade by making of pointes, and was the chiefe misterie that was exercised in the towne, and albeit these be but two of the lightest faculties that are, yet were there two great townes chiefly mainteined by thesetwo faculties aboue rehearsed. I heard say in Venice (that moste flourishing citie at these daies of al Europe) if they may here of any cunning crafter man in any faculty, they will finde the meanes to allure him to dwell in their citie, for it is a wonder to see what a deale of Money one good occupper doth bying into a towne, though he himself doth not gaine to his owne commoditie but a poore lyuing. As for example, what Money one Woostedmaker byinges into y^e towne where he dwelles, and how many hath byunges vnder him, & what wealth he byngs to y^e towne where he dwels, truly I can not sufficiētly declare, for by a few woostedmakers y^e some townes haue they are growen to great wealth & riches. So of Clothyng and Cappyng. But where other cities do allure vnto them good workemen, ours will expell

That arte is to be most chearished in a towne that brings most to the towne.

Townes are enriched vwith some one trade

A brieffe Conceipte.

them oute, as I haue knowen good workemen as well Smythes and Cleauers haue common from straunge parties to some Cityes within this Realme intending to set by theyr craftes, and because they were not free there (but specially because they were better Workemen then was any in the Towne) they coulde not bee suffered to worke there. Such incorporations had those Disteries in those Townes that none might worke there in their faculty, except they did compounde with the first.

Capper.

And do you thinke it reasonable that a straunger should bee as free in a City or Towne, as they that were apprentices there? then no man would bee Apprentice to any occupation if it were so.

Doctor.

I sayd not that they shall haue commonly lyke libertie or Fraunchise, but as one craft makes but one perticuler companie of a Towne or City, so I would haue the weale of the whole City rather regarded, then the commodity or Fraunchise of one craft or mistery: for though commonly none should be admitted there to worke, but such as are free, yet when a singuler good workeman in any mistery comes, which by his good knowledge might both instructe them of the Towne being of the same faculty, and also bringe in to the Towne much Commodity beside. I woulde in that case haue priuate Liberties and Priviledges geue place to a publique weale, and such a man gladly admitted for his excellency to the Freedome of the same Towne, wthoute burdenyng of him wth any charge for his first entry or setting by. Yea where a Towne is decayed and lackes artificers to furnish the Towne with such craftes, as were other sometymes exercised well there or might bee, by reason of the situation and Commodity of the same Towne. I woulde haue such craftes men allured out of other places where they bee plenty, to come to those Townes decayed to dwell, offering them theyr Freedome, yea theyr house rents free,

free, or some stocke lent them, of the common stocke of such townes, and whē the towne is wel furnished of such Artificers, then to stay the conning in of Foreners, but whyle þ towne lackes enhabitauntes of artificers. It were no pollicy for the restauration of the towne to keepe of any straung artificers, for the most parte of all townes are mainteyned by craftes men of all sortes, but specially by those þ make any wares to sell out of the countrey and bynnges therfore treasure into the same. As clothiers, cappers, worstedmakers, hatmakers, poyntmakers, pinners, painters, founders, smythes of all sortes, cutlers, glouers, tanners, parch ment makers, gyrdlers, pourlers, makers of paper, thredmakers, turners, basket makers, and many other such. As for the mercers, and haberdashers, binteners, and grocers, I cannot see what they doe to a towne, but fynde a liuinge to v. or vi. houtholdes, and in steade thereof empouercish ten times as many, but since men will needes haue silkes wine and hyce it is as good that men do spend theyr money vpon such in their owne towne, as to be tyuen to seeke the same further, as for þ rest of þ artificers, like as I said before euē as they take no money out of the Countrey so they bynng none in, as Taylours Shoomakers, Carpenters, Joyners Tylers, Balons, Bouchers, bittailers, & such like. Also an other thinge I recken woulde helpe much to relieue oure Townes decayed, if they woulde take order that al þ wares made there, shoulde haue a speciall marke, and that marke to be set to none but to such as be truely wrought, and also that euery Artificer dwelling out of al townes (such as cannot for the commodity of their occupations, be brought to any towne to enhabite, as Fullers, Tanners and Clothiers) shoulde bee limited to bee vnder the correction of one good Towne or other, and they to sell no ware but such as are fyrst approued and sealed by the Towne that they are bymitted vnto. And by these two meanes, that is to say, fyrste

A brieft Conceipte.

by staying of wares wrought beyond sea, which might bee wrought within vs, from coming in to be sold. Secondly by restraining of our wolles, tinne, felles, & other commodities from passing ouer into wrought. And thirdly by bynning in (vnder the correctiō of good townes) artificers dwelling in the countreies: making wares to be sole outward, & those wares to be viewed and sealed by the towne seale before they shoulde bee solde. I woulde thinke oure Townes myght bee soone restored to theyr auncient Wealth or far bettered if they would follow this.

Knight.

Now we pray you go to the last matter ye spake of how these diuersitie of oppinions may be taken away, which troubles the people very sore, and makes greate sedition and deuision amonge them, and in maner makes debate betwene neighbour & neighbour, the Father and his Son, y man and his Wyfe, whych is yet more to bee feared, then all other the foresayd losses of worldly goods. For if wee were neuer so poore, and did neuerthelesse agree amonges our selues, wee shoulde lycke our selues hoale againe in short space.

Doctor.

Yee say truth with concord weake thinges doe encrease & ware big. And contrarywise with discorde strong thinges ware weake. And it must needes be true that truth it selfe sayth. Every kingdome deuided in it selfe shalbee desolate. Wherefore I cannot forbear to shewe you my poore opinion, how so great a mischief as this is, may bee auoyded out of this our common Weale: & stil I will vse one trade, as in seeking out the originall cause, and by takinge awaye of that, to shewe the remedye. I take the chiefe cause hereof aswel the sinnes of thē that be the ministers of Christs holy word and misteries, as of you that bee the flocke. And firste of ours that haue swarued altogether, fro their due course order and profession to all kinde of liberality, not onely to the

Concordia
quæ res
crescunt
discordia
maximè di-
labuntur.

the basenes of lay men, but far inferiour to them in pryde, couetousnes, and such. Wherefore yee lay men seeing in vs no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke vs unworthye to bee your Leaders and Pastors, or to whose doctryne yee shoulde giue credence, whome yee see in lyuing far discrepant from the same. And therefore ye take vpon you þ iudgment of spirituall thinges, to whom it doth not appertain. As one inconuenience draweth euer another after him, so long as the ministers of the church were of those maners & conuersation agreeable with theyr doctryne. So long all men, yea the greatest prynces of the worlde and the wyldest mē wer contēt to beleue our doctryne, & to obey vs in thinges concerning þ soule: & since we fel frō the perfection of life, we grew out of credit, & þ holy doctryne of Chryst suffered slander by our sinful liuing. So we haue giuen the fyrste occasion of this euil, & yee haue taken it as an instrumēt to worke this scpyne withal. And though both do euil therin, yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of this mischpye, which I take to bee in the ministers & pastors spirituall. And to be playne with you, and no moze to dissemble oure owne faultes, then I haue done yours, except wee reforme our selues fyrst, I can haue no greate trust to see this generall scpyne and deuision in religion utterly taken away: it may percase, wyth authoricy be for a time appeased, but neuer so as it spryng not by againe, except wee reforme oure selues fyrst.

Mary and I thinke yee haue bene wel disciplined & corrected already, so as yee had good cause to bee reformed as by taking much of your possessions from you, and in burdening of your benefices with subsidies, as well annuall as proportional, and other wayes. What other reformation would yee haue moze.

Yea no doubt we haue had beating inoughe if that would haue serued, but some maisters w litle beating will

The occasiō of
the scylme in
matters of reli
gion.

Knight.

Doctor.

A brieue Corceipte.

teach theyr schollers better, the other wyth more stryppes ca
do, and agayne some schollers will be reformed with lesse
beating then other. So you and we do now, you in beating
inough but litle teaching, and wee agayne litle regardyng
the stryppes do learne as litle. For notwithstanding these pu
nishments that we haue had, the reproches and reuylinge
and opening of our faultes, see how many of vs haue refoz
med our selues, yea so much as in our outwarde duties,
whereunto we are bound both by gods lawe, and our can
nons, lawes, and decrees: how many moe of vs haue refoz
ted to our benefices to be resident thereon, which not onely
by the sayd lawes, but also vpon greate penalties wee are
bounde vnto by the lawes of this Realme. How many lesse
now then before haue studied to heape Benefice vpon Be
nefice, when wee bee scante able to discharge one of them,
what better tryall or examination is there nowe in admyt
tyng of ministers of the church: What more exacte searche
is made by our Bishops, for worthy men to be admitted to
the cure of soules: What better execution of our canons
and decrees doth our Bishoppes, Deanes, and Archdea
cons in their visitations now, then they did before: Vea
what better hospitality residence, or ministracion eyther of
the word or of their other duties do our prelates and By
shops now then they did before: doe they not lurke in theyr
mansions & manour places far from theyr cathedra l chur
ches as they were wont, and scant ones a yeare wil see their
principall church, where they ought to be continually resi
dent: be they not in a maner as vnnicete for preaching the
word of God as euer they were, for all these plagues that
God sendes to them, but they are so blynded that they can
not see wherefore they be thus punished, & construe it to be
for other causes, as by the couetousnes of lay men in desi
ringe theyr Possessions, by a hatred conceiued agaynst
them for not obteyning theyr purpose at men of the Church
ches

ches hand. Or for that they cannot abyde the correction of the church, or such other causes as they imagine with themselves. And thinke that the indignation against the thorsly will slacke of it selfe: But I pray God it doe not rather encrease, as I feare me it wil, except wee amend vs the rather. How can men be content to pay þ tenth of theyr goods which they get with theyr sore labour and sweate of theyr browes, when they cannot haue for it againe neither ghostly comforte nor bodely: what layman wil be any thing scrupelus to keepe those tythes in his owne handes, when hee sees vñ do nothyng more then he for it: What credite wyll any man gieue to our doctrine, whom they see so lighte in lpying, what reuerence will they gieue our personnes in whose maners, they see no grauity. But to passe frō these matters to others. There be most godly ordinaūces made by our lawes by authority of Counsailes generally, that all Archdeacons should visite in person yearly theyr precinctes, The Bishop euery thre yeres to see y whole Diocesse what is to be reformed either pꝑuately or generally, that pꝑuate faults might be reformed forthwith, and the generall at the next Synode, and therefore they haue theyr procurations. Visite they doe not in person as they ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations then for any reformation. The money is surely gathered but the cause wherefore it was geuen nothing kepte: the stipend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, vñdō. Then is there another good ordenaūce, and godly absolved after the like sort: where euery bishop shoul yere y keepe a synode in his dioces of all euangeliall persons, and euery archbishop a sinod for his whole prouince, euery thir yere that if any thing occurred in the diocesse worthy reformation it might be referred to the prouinciall congregation. If it were either doubtfull to the bishop or could not be reformed without greate authority then the Bishoppes alone.

Whereby

A brieue Conceipte

Where bee these synodes now kepte: yet they receiue euery
pere their synodals of the poore priests: of such good ordeā
ce & godly there is nothing kept, but y^e which is there owne
priuate cōmodity, which be y^e procuratiōs & synodals: y^e other
part wherfore y^e charge was laid is omitted, y^e burde remai
neth & the duty is takē away, yet better it were y^e both y^e one
& y^e other were takē away, thē to haue y^e good parte taken
& the worse to remaine. If they will say, that there needeth
now a daies no such visitation, nor synods, then there need
ed neuer none of them, for moe thinges to bee reformed a
mong vs, were neuer then be now, nor reformation neuer
more necessary. But our prelats would say they dare make
no lawes in such synodes for feare of penury, what neede a
ny mo lawes made then they haue already: what should let
them to put these in execution that be already made: speci
ally sins they haue the aide of the tempozal lawes thereto,
is there not statutes made in parliament for residence, and
for restrayning of pluralitie of benefices: which had neuer
neede to haue ben made, if wee would haue put our lawes
in execution. Are not we worthy to haue other men to cor
recte and reforme vs, when we can not reforme our selues:
Is it maruaille that wee bee not out of credence when oure
life and conuersation is contrary to our owne lawes and
profession, and that the religion of them suffereth slander
offence and reproache, through our defaultes shalbe ones
required of our hands. Wherefore if we wil haue this scilme
takē away frō christis church, let vs first reforme our selues
& put our lawes in executiō, as in resorting to our benefices
to keepe residence, and in contentyng our selues wyth one
Benefice a peece: And wyth the lyuinge that is appointed
to vs for our ministratiō without deuising of other extra
ordinary & vnlawfull gaines. For what is more agreeable
wyth reason, then a man to spende his tyme where he hath
his lyuing and to do his office, for that he hath y^e benefit of
And

And seeing every benefice is a mans living, and if it be not
 it might be amended till it be a competent living, and eu- Propter of-
ficiū da-
tur benefi-
cium,
 ry one requirerh one mans whole charge. What reason is
 it that one man should haue two mens livings & two mens
 charge, where he is able to discharge but one. The to haue
 moe & discharge the cure of neuer a one is to farre agaynst
 reaso. But some percase will say, there be some of vs wor-
 thy a greater preferment then other, & one benefice were to
 litle for such a one. Is there not as many degrees, in the va-
 riety of Benefices, as there is in mens qualities? Yes for
 sooth there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices
 from ss. markes to xx. markes a yeaere of sundry values
 to endow euery man with, after his qualities and degree.
 And if a meane benefice happen to fall let euery man be co-
 tented therewith til a better fall. And if he be thought wor-
 thy of a better, let him leaue the first and take y better, for
 the meaneest Benefice is a sufficient livinge for some man,
 which should be destitute of a living, if that benefice and o-
 ther like should be heaped by together in great menshads.
 Yea I doe knowe, y men which haue such meane benefices
 be moze commonly resident, and keepe better hospitality on
 the same, then they that haue greater benefices. It is a com-
 mon prouerbe. Its meary in Hall: Whan Beardes wags
 all. Nowe looke throughe a whole Diocesse, you shall not
 finde xx. persons resident that may dispend xl. l. a piece,
 nor of al the benefices in a Diocesse, the fourth person resi-
 dent ouer the same. What temperal office is so far abused
 as these be that be spirituall and of greater charge: I pray
 God send our Prelats Eyes to see these Enormities: for it
 shoulde seeme that they are so blinded that they cannot see
 them. And then I doubt not but all delayes set a part they
 will reforme them: and if they do not, I pray God send our
 Maiestrats temperall the minde to reforme these thinges
 with their secular power, And to study for the reformation
D.
of them,

A brieſe Conceipte

Cicero de
offi, Lib. 1.

The faultes in
the part of the
vtyc.

of them, rather then for theiꝝ poſſeſſions, Chriſtian Princes beare not their ſwoꝝds in bayne: noꝝ yet is it ſo ſtraunge a thing to ſee Chriſtian princes reforme the Prelates that ſwarue from their dueties. Thus far be it ſpoken touching the reformation of them þe myniſters of þe Church. Now to ſpeake of þe is to be reformed of our parte that be of the laytpe, yee muſt vnderſtand, that al þe geue theiꝝ ſelues to þe knowledge of any faculty, are commonly ſubiect to eyther of two vices (as that great clarke Tully doth repoꝛt) þe one is to take theſe things þe we know not for things knowne, oꝝ as though we knewe them: foꝝ a boyding of which fault men ought to take both good ſpace and great diligence in conſideration of things, ere they come to geue iudgement of the ſame: the other vice to beſtowe too great a ſtudy & labour about obſcure and hard thinges nothing neceſſary. Let vs now conſider and thoſe faults be not among you at theſe dayes, yee be all now ſtudious to know the vnderſtanding of holy ſcripture. And well foꝝ there can be no better deſire, moꝝ honeſt, noꝝ moꝝ neceſſary foꝝ any chriſtiā mā: but yet doe yee not ſee many younge men befoꝝe they haue either taken any longe time, oꝝ any good diligence in the conſideration oꝝ ſtudy of ſcripture, take vpon them to iudge of high matters being in controuerſie, geueing to quicke aſſent eyther to theiꝝ owne inuention, oꝝ to other mens: befoꝝe they haue conſidered what might be ſayd to the cōtrary. And this fault is not onely ſcene in men ſtudious of the knowledge of ſcripture, but alſo in younge ſtudents of all other ſciences: ſhall yee not finde a ſtudent in the law of the realme, after he hath bene at the ſtudy of þe lawe not paſt iii. yeares, moꝝ ready to aſſoyle you a doubtfull cauſe of the lawe, then either he himſelfe oꝝ another, after þe hath ſtudied the lawe ii. oꝝ xiiii. yeares. Wea no doubt, ſo it is in a young Gramarian, Logitian, Rethoritian, & ſo of al other ſciences. Therefore Pythagoras foꝝbade his Schollers to ſpeake

Speake the firste v. yeares þ they came to him, which lesson
 I would to God yee would be cōtent to obserue, before yee
 gaue any iudgement in matters of holy scripture. And thē
 I doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, yee would by col-
 lation of one place with another of scripture, finde a grea-
 ter difficultie therein, then yee doe now, & bee more scripu-
 lous to geue an answer in high things then yee be now:
 and this harme cometh of rashe iudgement in þ part, that
 when a man hath once vetered his opinion in any thing, he
 will thinke it a great shame for him to be brought from þ
 he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore what so euer he
 readeth after he constructh for the mayntenaunce of his o-
 pinion, yea and will force that side not only with his words
 and perswasions, but also with that powre and authoritie þ
 he hath, and will labour to bring other to the same opinion
 as many as he can, as though his Opinion shoulde bee the
 more true, the more fauours that he may get of þ same. By
 such meanes if we seeke but for the truth, that is not to be
 iudged to be alwaies on the best side þ getteth þ ouer hand
 by power, authoritie, or Suffrages extorted: it is not like
 in the disceptacion, & inquisition of the truth, as it is in a
 fight or a wrestling: for he that hath the ouer hand in these
 thinges hath the victorie, and in the other hee that is some-
 times put to silence, or otherwise vanquished in the sighte
 of the worlde, hath the victorie and conquest of truth, on his
 side. Since we contend but for the knowledge of the truth
 what should wee deuide our selues into factions and par-
 ties: but let the matter be quietly discussed, tryed, and exa-
 mined, by men to whom the iudgement of such thinges ap-
 pertayneth. And prouide in the meane time that neyther
 party doe vse any violence agayne the other, to bring them
 by force to this or that side, vntill the whole or most part of
 the to whom þ discusio of such thinges appertayneth vnto,
 doe free-

As Consta-
 tyme the
 great, did in
 the time of
 Arius,

A brieft Conceipte

doe freely consent and determine the matter. That is the onely way to decide such controuersies, and since this contention must once haue an ende: it were better take an ende betimes then too late, when percase more harme shal haue ensued of this daungerous Scisme, as hath already done in other parties euen before our Eyes. And in like things hath before this time bene seene, of such sort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred: what losse of Christian men: what diminishing of the Christian faith: what continuall warres, hath the Faction of the Arrians bene the occasion of: did it not seporate and seuer at length all Asia, and Africke from the Christian sayth: Is not the Religion, or rather the wicked supersticion of the Turke grafted ouer this Arrian Sect: did it not take his foundation thereof: As there is no dyuision more daungerous, then that which groweth of matters in Religio: so it were most expedient and necessary to bee quickly remedied, which cannot bee done by any other way then by a free and generall counsel, that hath bene alwayes from the time of þ Appostles who first tooke that remedy (euen to their dayes) the onely way to quiet and appease all controuersies in religion. And no doubt the holy Ghost as his promise is, wil be priuate in euery such assembly, that is gathered together by no force or labor of any affection. But now we will say, though we would for our partes set aside partiality, and be indifferent and vse no coercion to get numbers & voyces that should fauour our partes, who can promise that the Bishoppe of Rome & other Prelates would doe þ same. Surely if yee did say so, yee sayd a great matter, for they be men & much more subiect to affections there yee be. But I shal be bound after my manner to tel my minde herein as well as in other things, I take all these matters that be now a dayes in controuersie to be of one of these sortes, that is either touching the profits and enuolumentes of the Prelates & Ministers of the

How this
scisme might
be remedied.

of the church, or touching pointes of religion. As touching those articles that cōcerne religion, I would wishe y they had onely the discusion thereof, which ought and haue v- sed alwayes to haue the iudgment of the same, & as touch- ing the articles that concerne the profits of Ecclesiasticall persons, I would haue these left to the discusion of the se- cular powers, because it concerneth secular thinges onely, where no man neede mistrust. But that y Daiesstrates will prouide an honorable liuing for that kinde of men that ser- ueth so honorable a rōume as y ministracion of Gods holy word and his Sacraments. Farthermore I would wishe in thinges touching y byshop of Rome & his iurisdiction, y he should be set a part & some other iudifferēt persons cho- sen, by christian Princes to direct or be Presidents in the Counsaile while his matter is in handlinge, (if it please Christian Princes to holde a counsaile with that Whore of Babylon) for no man is meete to be a Iudge in his own cause: here I haue but brieely touched y summes of things after my simple phantasie, referringe the alowing or reiec- ting of all our some of them to your better iudgement.

The Bishop of Rome is no in- different man.

I am sorry that it is so late that we must needes depart now.

Knight.

And so bee wee in good sayth: but wee trust ere you de- parte the towne to haue some communication wyth you a- gayne.

Marchaunt.
Husband,
& Capper.
Doctor.

I will bee glad if I tarry in the towne. But as yet tru- ly I knowe not whether I shall remayne here beyond too morrow morning, which if I do (in any thing y my simple iudgement will reach vnto you) you shall heare my farther opinion, in the meane time I pray you so to thinke of mee as of one, that if I haue spoken any thing which may bee preiudiciall to the common weale any way, I am ready to reuoke it, and to yeelde to the iudgement of any other man, that can shew how all these griefes or the more part of the

A brieſe Conceipte

may bee remedied by any other better meanes, for I knowe of many a thouſande in this lande, I may worſt ſpeake it ſuch a wayghty matter. And ſo heere for this preſente I take my leaue of you all.

Knight.

And thus wee departed for that time : but on the morrowe when I knewe maſter Doctoꝝ was gone out of the towne, I thought not meete this communication ſhould bee loſt, but remembꝛed at y^e leaſt in mine owne private booke, to the intent as oportunitie ſhould ſerue, I might bynne forth ſome of his Reaſons in places where they might eyther take place, or be aunſwered otherwiſe I Am I could. And therefore I haue noted the ſayd communication bꝛieflie of this ſorte
as you ſee.

FINIS.

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